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Mrs. Humphrey Ward's "Robert Elsmere" and its Effect upon the Press

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MRS. HUMPHREY WARD'S "ROBERT ELSMERE" AND ITS EFFECT UPON THE PRESS

BY

ESTHER GRACE WISEMAN

A. B. Shurtleff College, 1914.

THESIS

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I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY SUPERVISION BY

Esther Grace Wiseman

ENTITLED Mrs. Humphrey Ward's "Robert Elsmere" and its effect upon the press.

BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING THIS PART OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE

DEGREE OF Master of Arts

Stuart P Sherman
In Charge of Major Work

Stuart P Sherman
Head of Department

Recommendation concurred in:

Daniel Kilham Dodge.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Life of the author of Robert Elsmere, with short comment on religious, social and literary tendencies of her times as they affected her.

Far away in the Southern Seas, about one hundred and twenty miles south of the Australian province, Victoria, lies the island of Tasmania. It is an island of about twenty-four thousand square miles, a land of mountains, floods, and picturesque scenery. Situated in its southern portion, about seventeen miles back from the ocean is a little city, Hobartown, which is built upon a succession of hills, that lie along the Derwent river--almost at the very foot of the snow crowned Mount Wellington. Here in this village, the capital of the island, Mary Augusta Arnold was born on the eleventh "perfect day" in June, 1851. Of her, Tolstoi, when asked, late in the nineteenth century, whom he considered the greatest living novelist, was heard to reply "Mrs. Humphrey Ward, undoubtedly;"[1] and it was as author of Robert Elsmere, that she first became known.

Her father was Thomas Arnold, son of the great school master of Rugby and brother of the better known Matthew Arnold. He was in Tasmania at this time, at the call of the wandering spirit which dominated his life. As inspector of schools in Hobart he had married Julia Sorell, a woman of rare beauty and culture, daughter of the registrar of deeds and grand-daughter of the former governor of

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[1]See: Mrs. Humphrey Ward, by Roland Philipps in Lamp, Vol. 26, p. 17-20: Scribner's, N. Y., 1903.

Tasmania.[1]

In 1856, when Mary Augusta Arnold was five years of age, her father, a wanderer in religion as well as a seeker of new dwelling places, allied himself with the church of Rome. The announcement of this act, caused some little displeasure in the colony at Hobart and Thomas Arnold gave up his position as inspector and sailed back to England with his wife and three daughters, the eldest of whom was to take an important place in the Arnold literary clan. Perhaps Mary was too young to enjoy the slow three months voyage over the seas--at least "no where in her work do we find the sea referred to with anything approaching enthusiasm."[2]

But changes in systems of worship were not uninteresting to the girl, nor were they lacking in power over her life, though the sea rovings may indeed have been. For when we know of the father's life of wavering faith, much light is thrown upon the eagerness, sympathy, and ease with which Mrs. Ward portrays the religious vacillations of several of her best known novel heroes. And so we follow his wanderings through. Thomas Arnold had not been in England many months before he received an appointment as Professor of English Literature in the University of Dublin. From thence he followed Newman to Birmingham, and published there his manual of English literature. But in that same year, 1856, he reverted again to the Church of England, went back to Oxford, built himself a house, and took pupils. Here it was that Mrs. Ward received her definite impressions of Oxford, sketched in her books. However her father's rovings were not yet over. After living at Oxford for twenty years,

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[1]See: Book Buyer, Vol. 22: p. 459-466, Editorial on Mrs. Ward: Chas. Scribner's Sons, N. Y.

[2]See: Mrs. Humphrey Ward, by J. Stuart Walters, p. 27: Kegan Paul, London, 1912.

he went back to his old appointment at the University of Dublin and took up again the Catholic faith. There he spent the remainder of his life, leaving only to make pilgrimages to Rome.[1]

However, unrest was not confined to this one member of this one family. Conditions in England[2] were such that they strengthened greatly the effect produced by the father upon the young author. During the middle and latter part of the nineteenth century, England was the scene of a great intellectual and religious revival. Great divergence of opinion followed this revival, and a consequent controversy, involving politics, religion, and art.

Perhaps the most turbulent and surely the most pertinent to our study of Robert Elsmere, was the religious disturbance. Early in the century, the established church, which had been divided in its usual three factions, high, low, and broad, had united against the common enemy, Wesleyanism, and had sought peace and found it; but not without dropping into a lethargy, which resulted in degeneracy in the ranks of both clergy and people.

The first sign of new life was the outbreak of Evangelicism at Cambridge; and the Tractarian movement followed soon after, begun at Oxford on July 24th, 1833, by Keble's sermon on National Apostacy. Chief among the causes of the tide of Ritualism was Romanticism, which turned men back upon the study of mediaeval learning; and hardly less important was the Liberal reaction, which swept away Roman disabilities, threatened the wealth of the church,

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[1] For life of Mrs. Ward and of her father, see: Warner's Library of Worlds Best Literature, Vol. 38, p. 15641-15664. Also: Enclycopedia Brittanica, "Mrs. Ward."

[2] For conditions in England, see: Mrs. Humphrey Ward by J. Stuart Walter, Chapter I: Kegan Paul, London, 1912.

and brought German rationalism into England.

In 1845, the pendulum of religious thought and feeling swung back and found its halting place in the Evangelical Alliance. The Motto of the Alliance was "unum corpus sumus in Christo;" and its propaganda spread in power not only in England but also on the continent, and still claims existence in many places.

Except that Mrs. Ward came under the influence of men and books of these movements, and became in time a great student of the history and learning in which they originated, these developments of religious thought were not as direct in their effect upon her life as were the controversies concerning the principles of the Scientific Agnostics, and of the ethical studies of Maurice, Kingsley, and Matthew Arnold.

The Scientific Agnostics took possession of the field in 1859, when Darwin's Origin of Species shocked the world. Huxley's Man's Place in Nature followed in 1863; Darwin's Descent of Man in 1871; and Spencer's Principles of Psychology and Principles of Sociology a few years later. These books brought on a great controversy which involved Gladstone, Wace, and Bishop Magee.

The religicus studies of Frederick Denison Maurice, Charles Kingsley, and Matthew Arnold created no less a sensation. The non-conformists led the sectarians in their abuse of the studies, while the broad church alone remained in poise. It was accustomed to changing its attitudes toward truth and one more change had small effect. To the Conservative and Ritualist, the Church of Rome seemed to stand firm and to them it offered a refuge. Thence the Tractarians were driven who could not stop at Ritualism. From

these last mentioned schools of thought, Mrs. Ward formed many of her own religious principles. These we will examine closely in a following chapter.

Not in the soul life of her age alone was Mrs. Ward interested. In her first book of importance--Robert Elsmere--we find some of the most vivid passages are those which deal with the social problems of the small Surrey parish of which Robert Elsmere was the rector. From 1865 to 1900, Collectivism, though over-lapped by Benthamism and Individualism, was the chief social movement. It was a growth of Tory philanthropy, a bringing out and uniting of the artisan class. Of this movement Oastler and Shaftesbury were leaders, and Mrs. Ward interested in every social movement which would better community life, took up her pen in furthuring social betterment everywhere. Of her social novels perhaps the strongest is Marcella.

In literature and arts great things were being done and Mrs. Ward, always an enthusiastic reader and thinker, delved deeply into art. In Robert Elsmere alone we find evidence of intimate knowledge of over fifty writers and thinkers. Ruskin, Rosetti and William Morris who represent the aestheticism of the time, are each spoken of by her. And Newman's Apoligia from the realm of religion, Mill's Liberty and Principles of Political Economy from politics; Froude, the historian; Thackeray, Dickens, and George Eliot, novelists; Browning, Tennyson and Swinburne, poets are each commented on, or quoted with understanding.

To one of Mrs. Ward's temperament, which was one of extreme avidity for literature, and for problems of religion and so-

ciety, coming to a scene of such activity and unrest, as was in England at this time, was of great importance; and to it she came in 1856. Here at Oxford, in the midst of the religious, social and literary thought of the time, Mrs. Ward spent twenty-four years of her life--first as daughter of the teacher, Thomas Arnold, and then as wife of Mr. Humphrey Ward--Fellow and Tutor at Brasenose College, Oxford.

In her childhood, she went to boarding school in the Lake country mear Clifton; but her greatest education was gained among the Oxford scholars. There she met Mark Pattison (the one whom reviewers suggested as Squire Wendover of Robert Elsmere), Lang, Saintsbury, Freeman Green (the historian) and Thomas Hill Green (Dr. Grey of Robert Elsmere), also Jowett of Balliol. Many others, some much more important, she might have met and known--for the social and literary position of the Arnolds was high--had not the religious vacillation of her father kept them at a distance.[1] Many of these Oxford scholars predicted a brilliant future for the young girl. "She was a marvellous linguist, versed in German, French, Spanish, and Italian literature."[2] At the suggestion of Mark Pattison she had taught herself the Spanish language. From these other men too she gained ideals and methods which influenced her for all time.

From Mrs. Ward's earliest acquaintance with Oxford thinkers, she became concerned with their problems, especially the reli-

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[1]See: Mrs. Humphrey Ward, by J. Stuart Walters, p. 26: Kegan Paul, London, 1912

[2]See: Critic, Vol. 24, p. 265: Mrs. H. Ward, by J. S. Steele. N. Y., 1894.

gious ones, though strange to say "Mrs. Ward took a position outside of the great factions and boldly pleaded--at a time when there were few of her opinion--for reason in all things, even in religion."[1] The distinctive note of her thinking is still sanity, or "reason in all things." Interested in every problem of life, she keeps a poise which is very marked. She is a Feminist, but is an opponent of Woman's Suffrage. That is, she believes that woman has a place in the moulding, wielding and bettering of the community life in which she lives, while there is not a right place for her in Parliament. Mrs. Ward is also a progressive, but the Liberal party comes off badly at her hands. In religion, she is a modernist, but is an upholder of the established church. The same spirit shows itself in her attitude toward the social order, she believes in democracy, but at the same time wants to keep aristocracy because of its culture and learning.

But before we go furthur we must indicate a few more of the factors which directed the tendencies of life and thought in Mrs. Ward. Perhaps greater than father's wanderings; greater than the conditions of unrest of the time, and greater than the Oxford life which she led so long, was the influence upon Mrs. Ward of her uncle, Matthew Arnold. All of the Arnolds worshipped culture, but Matthew Arnold taught the raising of the culture god in a very definite way. He regarded all free-thinkers and non-conformists as uncultured and accordingly placed Mill, Bright, Hume, Wesley, Milton, Bunyan and Cromwell among the uncultured, the "Philistines." In Mrs. Ward we find a close clinging to the culture-idol. Her novel

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[1]See: J. Stuart Walter's Mrs. Humphrey Ward, p. 29: Kegan Paul, London, 1912.

heros and heroines must all have culture even though she must stretch a point to have it so, as in the case of David Grieve. And she seems utterly to disregard justice, when she deals with any of the sect of non-conformists.

Again we find her following Arnold in matters of religious doctrine. In Literature and Dogma of 1873, we find these words "miracles do not happen." Only the learned world read them and shaken; but Mrs. Ward gave this doctrine to all the reading world, when she wrote Robert Elsmere. This doctrine can be traced back to Thomas Hill Green who had taken the Hegehan theory (namely that the subjective mind creates the external universe) into religion and had accounted for miracles by the theory that the love of Christ's disciples had created them. But it is anticipating to endeavor here to trace Mrs. Wards theological ideals to their source. At least to Matthew Arnold may be attributed the fashioning of the theory into usable form, for the author of Robert Elsmere.

It would be interesting to know just how far Matther Arnold influenced his niecealong literary lines. Anna Blanche McGill,[1] in writing of the Arnolds as a famous literary clan, thinks she discovers in the purposefulness that weaves; in the didacticism, and in the lack of spontaneity and elasticity of Mrs. Ward's novels, Matthew Arnold's tendency toward the practical things of life. Quite a long list of faults to charge to an uncle's practicalness.[1] Other critics trace her great insight into character, and her charming seriousness, and in fact some endeavor to trace the majority of her

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[1]See: Some Famous Literary Clans, by Anna Blanche McGill in Book Buyer, Vol. 22, p. 459-466; Scribner's Sons, N. Y., 1901.

good qualities to the influence of Matthew Arnold. One may at least be certain that a woman of such sericusness and literary interest, would not be meagerly affected by a man who was such a great thinker and writer, and whose life, of necessity, came into very close touch with her own.

It would seem that every fortune was assisting Mrs. Ward to become a woman of great literary attainment. The intimate contact with Oxford life and scholars and the culture and learning of her own family circle were great aids to her. And so in marrying Mr. Humphrey Ward, when she was twenty years of age, she was fortunate. For he was a man of literary and musical ability, and is well known as author of The Reign of Queen Victoria and of Ward's English Poets. To the latter of these books Mrs. Ward contributed several biographies. His musical ability was of a superior quality--he was musical critic of the Times after the removal of the family to London in the latter part of the seventies--; and to him perhaps Mrs. Ward owes the musical knowledge which she reveals in Miss Bretherton and the character of Rose in Robert Elsmere, and in other of her novels.

There is another influence which bears directly on the literary work of Mrs. Ward. It is the influence of place. To many writers this is important and to Mrs. Ward it serves a two-fold benefit. The settings of her novels are very vividly portrayed and it is interesting to note that there is scarcely a hill, valley, meadow, wood, church or dwelling which cannot be minutely identified with some locality in which Mrs. Ward has lived or visited. But aside from giving settings for her novel action, she says, the places

away from town and city are retreats in which her best writing is done.

Perhaps the most notable is Fox How, in the Westmoreland hills, the summer retreat of her father and the place Mrs. Ward learned to love and which she pictures charmingly in the opening chapters of Robert Elsmere. Another is the ancient manor house called Stocks, situated in "the midst of a world of green hills."[1] It is several miles out of London and about three miles from the village of Tring. Here Mrs. Ward wrote Bessie Costrellc and Marcella. Elsmere was written in the beautifully gabled, many windowed house in Haslemere, among the Surrey hills, which was the country home of the Wards at the time. A recent novel, Canadian Born, was written at the elegant villa, Bonaventura, in Italy. The retreat at Lake Como, where Mrs. Ward has a lovely villa, is the place in which she does much of her literary work at present.[2]

Here at Lake Como, C. S. Olcott, who has written very interesting articles on Mrs. Ward from first-hand information, met the author. "There was no condescension and no posing when I met her," Olcott says. "She greeted me with a perfect hospitality which seemed born of the beauty all around. Strong intellectuality and depth of moral purpose were the predominate features of her face. She is of more than medium height, erect, graceful and dignified but never repellent. I felt myself in the presence of a distinguished woman, one who has justly earned a world wide fame."[2] Others who have met and known the novelist have had the same impressions of her.

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[1] See: C. S. Olcott's Mrs. Humphrey and Her Work, in Outlook's, Vol. 92, pp. 1014-1024: N. Y., Aug., 1909.
[2] Ibid.

It was not however as a novelist that Mrs. Ward's literary career began. Her first sericus work was done in connection with Smith and Wace's Dictionary of Christain Biography. It is told of her that she rewrote a single page as often as twenty times, so great was her care and exactness concerning the articles on Bishops and Kings, which she contributed to the Dictionary.

From the beginning of the Ward's residence in London, which began about 1880, she wrote articles for the Macmillian Magazine and for the Quarterly Review.[1] These she signed "M. A. W." A glance at the subjects of a few of them will show her critical tendencies and her intellectual attainments, which seem to be of great variety, and show an especial interest in French literature: A Spanish Romanticist, a review of the life and work of Gustavo Becquer with a prefatory sketch on Spanish politics; Style and Miss Austen; Marius, the Epicurean, a review of Pater's book of that name; M. Renan's New Volume, comments upon a volume of studies in religious history; Literature of Introspection; New Edition of Keats; French Souvenirs; Francis Garnier; and M. Renan's Autobiography. Few contributors to magazines can boast a wider range of subjects. Her ability along this critical line was to attain its height in the sensitively, sympathetic translation of Amiel's Journal an introductory memoir of the life of Amiel, which was published in 1885.

Before that time, Mrs. Ward's first story appeared, Milly and Olly. It was a clever tale for children, showing the keenness of appreciation which Mrs. Ward had for the ways and wishes of

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[1]For complete list of published articles see: Book Buyer, Vol. V, p. 381: Scribner's Sons, N. Y., 1889.

"little folks." Miss Bretherton, her next novel,was published in 1886. It was a story strictly French in its characteristics and very well written. Neither of these books however was widely read.

But when in February of the spring of 1888, Robert Elsmere was published, there was a great commotion. It was not many months until the formerly unknown "M. A. W." had become the much talked of and intensely interesting Mrs. Humphrey Ward; nor was it many months until the book was read and discussed by everyone who read books in England and America. Also upon the continent, it was reviewed by the ablest Dutch, French, and German reviewers. The cause of this commotion originated, when in 1881 the High Churchman, Bishop John Wordsworth, had set forth the most dogmatic of doctrines in a lecture on sin and unbelief. It was one of the series of Bampton Lectures which are delivered every year at Oxford, and its tone of dogmatism caused Mrs. Ward to retaliate in an anonymous pamphlet, which attempted to uphold the anti-dogmatic party. The pamphlet was found at once by a high-churchman and, because of its anonymity, was legally suppressed. But Mrs. Ward, though her pamphlet was hidden, dared to write a novel later which upheld the same principles, and was successful in Robert Elsmere.

Since that time have followed novels dealing with all sorts of problems and some almost purely artistic. A very good classification of them up to 1911, is given by J. S. Walters as follows:[1]

(a) Stories with some question of religious controversy as the chief theme; Robert Elsmere (1888), David Grieve (1892),

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[1]See: Mrs. Humphrey Ward, by J. Stuart Walters, p. 69: Kegan Paul, London, 1912

(b) Stories involving problems of social reform; Marcella (1894), and Sir George Tressady (1896).

(c) Studies of character; Miss Bretherton (1886), Eleanor (1900), and Lady Rose's Daughter (1903).

(d) Studies of certain phases of society; The Marriage of William Ashe (political) 1905, Fenwick's Career (artistic) 1906, Canadian Born (colonial) 1910. In all, there are fourteen of them. Since 1911, there has been a new problem discussed by this lover of problems in Delia Blanchflower, the problem of woman's suffrage; and now there is a new story running in the Harper's Bazaar, Eltham House. Mrs. Ward is never idle.

Besides these novels, she has written two plays, Agatha and a dramatization of Eleanor and a romance, Fenwick's Career. The articles written for magazines since the publishing of Robert Elsmere in 1888 are interesting, for several of them take up the direct line of thought begun in Robert Elsmere, always "away with dogma but keep the faith."[1]

Any adequate literary evaluation of the work of Mrs. Ward is quite beyond the scope of this chapter. While there has been much discussion of Mrs. Humphrey Ward and her work, little has been said of their literary value. The reason for a lack of literary criticism is apparent, when we remember that nearly all of her books and writings contain as their deepest concern, a problem. So while Tolstoi and Gladstone give her first rank among the living novelists, it may be charged of them that they are strongly interested in her

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[1]See: Dial, Vol. 26, p. 198: Chicago, 1899. Also Note 1, next page.

propaganda. On the other hand such scathing criticism as Wm. Lyon Phelps gives of her in his book on "Essays on Modern Novelists,"[2] may be attributed to a lack of interest, or rather to a deep dislike of her propaganda. Mrs. Ward avows herself an author of purpose and undoubtedly aversions to her work on account of her propaganda is of small weight. There has however been a growth in number of artistic touches in her recent novels which critics commend; and her willingness to work coupled with her broad knowledge of people and things is always highly spoken of, even by the most adverse. Many remark about her likeness to George Eliot;--some declaring her base inferiority, and others making her at least an equal. W. D. Howells puts it aptly, "You cannot name her in the same breath with George Eliot, but you can name her in the next breath; and it is doubtful if even George Eliot had a wider and stronger grasp of the important actualities of English life."[3] But to me the most just characterization of her which I have read is this: "She is surely a novelist of the time, not of the future, and will be remembered as portraying not the life, but the intellectual phenomena of her age."[4]

In intellectual phenomena is certainly her strong-hold in the book Robert Elsmere.

But in an evaluation of Mrs. Ward, it would be unfair if

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[1]See: Editorial on Mrs. Ward's New Faith in Review of Reviews, Vol. 28, 1903: N. Y., 1903. Also: New Reformation, by Mrs. H. Ward in 19th Century Magazine, March, 1889.

[2]See: Mrs. H. Ward in Essays on Modern Novelists, William Lyon Phelps.

[3]See: Mrs. H. Ward, by Roland Phillips in The Lamp, Vol. 30, pp. 17-30: Scribner's, N. Y., 1903.

[4]S. L. Wilson's Theology of Modern Literature: T. & T. Clarke, Edinburgh, 1899.

we left the impression that she is a mere society woman, interested only in the life about her as it furnishes material for her literary pursuits. She is a wonderful woman in her home, and has widened the circle of her usefulness to include the very social work which we find her novel characters working for and taking part in. In 1891, only three years after the publishing of Robert Elsmere, we find the Brotherhood, which Elsmere founded in London, fictionally, becoming an actuality in the Passmore Edwards Settlement which was located permanently in 1898 at Tavistock Place.[1] In 1899, she helped to found an Invalid Children's School, which is a great success and has relieved many otherwise hopeless child sufferers, by teaching their hands to work cheerfully and usefully and their minds to think normally. The last notice we have of Mrs. Ward was in the Saturday Evening Post of a short time ago, where her portrait appeared and a paragraph was devoted to her enthusiastic house to house visits in behalf of the Anti-Suffrage League of England, which she whole-heartedly helped to found some years ago. So we find this writer of problems of life, getting out into the community and helping to solve its difficulties and make its life cleaner and better.

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[1]Back of this House is a garden owned by the Duke of Bedford, which is the site of Dicken's Tavistock House where "Little Nell" used to play.

CHAPTER II

THE STORY OF ROBERT ELSMERE, WITH SPECIAL STRESS ON THE RELIGIOUS STRUGGLE

For those who have not read Robert Elsmere, a brief telling of the story of this first and perhaps greatest of Mrs. Ward's problem novels will be necessary, in order to appreciate the effect the book produced on the press; and to understand the discussion of the sources of religious beliefs, which the author sets forth in the book.

The book, which was originally published in three volumes, in the one volume edition, contains six hundred closely printed pages. In it, there is ample material for three novels:--there are three different settings, in which, altogether, no less than thirty people move; there are two almost equally important plots, and subordinate to these are several under-plots, each of which would stand alone as a good short story; nearly every kind of society is represented, from the inhabitants of poor tenant dwellings in Murewell, where disease and filth are sole possessors, to the strictly fashionable French salon in London, where Mme de Netteville intrigues; also nearly every degree of intellectual development is portrayed, from the superstitions, demon-haunted Mary Backhouse, living on the lonely Westmoreland Crag, to the cynical sceptic, Squire Wendover, living in the world of the mind.

All parts of the story are interesting, but to us, and in fact to most of those who read and comment upon Robert Elsmere,

there is one plot which is of preeminent importance. It is that of Robert Elsmere and Catherine Leyburn, and of the great religious struggle of their lives. So I shall tell the main facts of the story, developing the religious and theological element to rather a greater extent than it deserves, were we concerned merely with the artistic virtues of the work. There are five characters who take largest part in the religious development;--Grey and Langham from Oxford; Squire Wendover at Murewell in Surrey; and Robert Elsmere and his wife, Catherine. But more of them in their places.

The story opens in the lonely Westmoreland valley of Long Whindale. At the southern end of it, the hills are low and rounded, but they grow gradually steeper toward the north. A single line of white roadway runs the length of the valley, at the sides of which, back among the fells appear grey stone farm houses with grey roofs. Smoke rising over the hills in the south, indicates a village and cicilization.

Three of the grey stone houses in these hills are of interest to us. One is a very lonely house, situated around the steepest of the crags, in the north end of the valley,--it is the home of poor Mary Backhouse, whom the demon of the hills haunts at night. Another is the "grey stone" vicarage, at about the center of the valley, in which the vicar and his gossiping, match-making wife live. The third is Burwood Farm, whose "grey stone" house is not far from the vicarage. Here the Leyburns live;--the wife and three daughters of a clergyman. The mother is a delicate woman in both mind and body; and she depends solely on her eldest daughter, Catherine, who is a young vigorous woman, in the prime of health and strength;

"thin and spare" in figure; with a face of "delicate austere charm" and possessing a character as "noble and pure as the breath of the austere fells." To her, Richard Leyburn had left the care and moral quidance of the mother and two younger sisters. Rose, the youngest is a beauty, with an eccentric, artistic temperament, which shows itself in the arrangement of her golden-brown hair and her loosely hung and wildly colored dress. Agnes the other girl is not pretty but is dainty, and genial, and somewhat shrewd.

Life has been going on quietly in the valley;--Catherine Leyburn assisting and sometimes out-doing the vicar, in his care of the parish poor and sick, chief among whom is Mary Backhouse, who is slowly dying of consumption and of fear of the haunt of the hills. Rose has been practicing on her violin, longing for lessons in the city, and for a bit of city life. The others have been about their usual duties. Then the hero of the story, Robert Elsmere, enters upon the scene. He comes to recuperate at the home of his cousin, the vicar's wife, after overstudy at Oxford. For he is to enter upon the duties of rector, on a living left him by his uncle, in the Surrey hills. When we first see Elsmere, we are aware that he is not a handsome creature, though he is attractive. His bright reddish hair has been cropped close after the fever, and as the vicar's wife, Mrs. Thornborough, says, it "spoils his appearance." But he has "quick, grey eyes," with a "merry flash in them" and the cutting of his face "had a bluntness and naïveté like a vigorous unfinished sketch."[1]

The character of the man is best explained by what affected him most at Oxford. There he had made friends with two remark-

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[1]Robert Elsmere by Mrs. H. Ward, p. 22:Smith Eldor & Co.'14

able men. One of them was Grey, the Hegelian philosopher, who had carried that philosophy into theology, had rejected the manifestations of the supernatural in religion, but who retained a firm belief in God. The other was Langham, the sceptic, whose handsome melancholy face had attracted the aesthetic Elsmere; and whose very air of hesitation, and distrust of self had taken the kind heart of the lad into a thrall, no buoyancy or certitude could have affected. From Grey, Elsmere heard the girst questioning of the apostle Paul as an authority; and the first hint that perhaps the doctrines which he had been taught were fallible. From Langham, he received the first suggestion that "miracles do not happen." But the negative or critical side of the teaching of these men had small effect upon Elsmere. It was rather the "spirit" of the men, and the "spirit" of the places which had power over him; "The religious air, the solemn beauty of the place itself, the innumerable associations with an organized and venerable faith, the great public functions and expressions of that faith, possessed the boy's imagination more and more, as he sat in the undergraduate gallery at St. Mary's, on the Sundays when the great High Church preacher of the moment occupied the pulpit and looked down on the crowded building full of grave black gowned figures, and framed in one continuous belt of closely, packed boyish faces, as he listened to the preachers vibrating voice, rising and falling with the orators instinct for musical effect; or as he stood up with the great surrounding body of undergraduates to send the melody of some Latin hymn rolling into the far recesses of the choir, the sight and the experience touched his inmost feeling, and satisfied all the poetical and dramatic instincts of a passion-

ate nature. The system behind the sight took stronger and stronger hold upon him; he began to wish ardently and continuously to become a part of it, to cast in his lot definitely with it."[1]

We have in this one paragraph the dominating characteristics of Robert Elsmere, for we find this same emotional, aesthetic and imaginative quality entering in and moulding his thoughts and actions, and ultimately fixing his most important decisions. For example, when Elsmere tells Catherine Leyburn of his love for her, the author remarks, "What a note of youth, of imagination, of impulsive eagerness there was through it all."[2] Again when he finally gains satisfaction in his decision for the "reconception of Christ," it is after a vision comes to him; on the lonely moor, "not in the dress of speculations which represent the product of long past, long superseded looms of human thought, but in the guise of common manhood, laden like his fellows with the pathetic weight of human weakness and human ignorance, the Master moves towards him," and speaks,

"Like you, my son, I struggled and I prayed. Like you, I had my days of doubt and nights of wrestling. I had my dreams, my delusions, with my fellows. I was weak; I suffered; I died. But God was in me, and the courage, the patience, the love He gave to me, the scenes of the poor human life He inspired, have become by His will the world's eternal lesson--man's primer of Divine things, hung high in the eyes of all, simple and wise, that all may see and all may learn. Take it to your heart again--that life, that pain, of mine! Use it to new ends; apprehend it in new ways; but knowledge

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[1] Robert Elsmere, by Mrs. H. Ward, p. 63:Smith Elder & Co.'14
[2] ibid: p. 144

shall not take it from you; and love, instead of weakening or forgetting, if it be but faithful, shall find ever fresh power of realizing and renewing itself."[1]

And Elsmere goes on, satisfied, and stimulated to the hard tasks which are before him. Many other instances might be added of Elsmere's leaning on the imagination and the emotion for guidance.

But to go back to Westmoreland. Elsmere has made his decision for the ministry, and in the summer his duties at the Surrey parish are to begin. Quite contrary to the plans of his matchmaking Aunt, Elsmere falls in love with the eldest Leyburn girl instead of the youngest, Rose. There is a struggle between the moral duty which Catherine thinks is hers, namely that she guard and guide her two younger sisters in the ways of truth and Puritanism; between this call of duty and hers and Elsmere's love. In spite of all the plots of Mrs. Thornborough, Catherine remains firm, until one night, while she is watching at the death-bed of Mary Backhouse, Mrs. Thornborough sends the restless Robert to see how the dying girl is faring, and there on the crags, Catherine gives over to the claims of love. Rose almost shouts with joy when the news is brought home, for at last she will be free; Mrs. Leyburn is as happy as most mothers are at such a time; and Mrs. Thornborough spends half the night congratulating herself over having disposed of one of the Leyburn girls, and wondering whom she shall ask next summer, for another one of them.

The scene changes now. We leave the mountains for a

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[1] Robert Elsmere, by Mrs. H. Ward, p. 359: Smith, Elder & Co., 1914.

"nature wild and solitary, indeed, but still rich and luxuriant"[1]--the heaths and woods of Surrey. "The rectory of Murewell occupied the highest point of a gentle swell of groung which sloped through corn-fields and woods to a plain of boundless heather on the south, and climbed away on the north towards the long chalk ridge of Hog's Back."[2] It was a square white house of little beauty situated among a few tall firs. In the valley at its right lay the village, and conspicuous in it were the house and park of the great Squire Wendover. A sceptic of the coldest and most critical type was Squire Wendover, a great scholar, especially in the learning of the middle ages. He is author of "The Idols of the Market Place," a study of English Religion, we are told, which has caused much discussion among churchmen in the recent past. He is now working on "A History of Testimony" and is abroad at the time of the new rector's arrival, gathering up some scattered material for this latest book of his. He has however left permission for the rector to use his wonderful library.

In this library, Elsmere spends as much time as he can spare, during those first happy days at Murewell. He delves into historical criticism and into its scientific relations with christianity, as Grey had suggested that he do. But his time is soon largely occupied elsewhere and his good opinion of the Squire clouded. For he finds that the Squire has permitted his agent to neglect the dwellings of his tenantry, until disease is rampant among them.

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[1]Robert Elsmere, by Mrs. H. Ward, p. 151: Smith, Elder & Co., 1914.

[2]ibid.

Elsmere and his wife do all that they can to alleviate the suffering of these poor people, but find the agent not only unwilling to assist them, but actually resentful at their interference.

Meantime the Squire comes home, and though he at first shows enmity toward Elsmere because of the tenantry, he is finally won to improve the places, out of a sincere wish to aid Elsmere. But the Squire reaps an ample reward for all he does for the rector. For Elsmere once started into criticism, is easily led on. The Squire's Idol's of the Market Place attracts him, and soon he finds himself comparing his wife's implicit faith to his critical attitude; soon he finds his mind dwelling on the suggestions he had first received from Grey's lips: "The fairy-tale of christianity;" "The origins of Christian mythology;" "all religions are true and all are false;"[1] but as yet he is called back by recalling the "emotion, the intensity, the self-surrender of moments in the past"[1] and he "throws himself again at the feet of Catherine's Master."[1]

For a time Elsmere holds himself aloof from the scepticism of the Squire, but when he finds that the book on "The History of Testimony" is finished, he is so interested that he requests the Squire to talk to him of it. This he does, Mrs. Ward tell us, for an hour and a half. All we hear of what he said is that he cites a "preconception in favor of miracles and messiahs at the time of Christ's advent, and advocates applying the critical method to all testimony."[2]

The struggle begins in earnest here, and Elsmere does

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[1]Robert Elsmere, by Mrs. H. Ward, p. 267: Smith, Elder & Co., 1914.

[2]ibid:p. 317.

apply the critical method. He reads widely among such books as a German treatise on the "history of the Logos doctrine."[1] But the only criticism which he reads, that is on the side of Christianity, is his Westcott. There is however another influence on Christianity's side and that is the influence of a Ritualistic priest, Newcome, whose common method of arguing with Elsmere is well expressed in the following speech:

"Trample on yourself! Pray down the demon, fast, scourge. Kill the body that the soul may live! What are we, miserable worms that we should defy the Most High, that we should set our wretched faculties against His Omnipotence! Submit--submit--humble yourself, my brother! Fling away the freedom which is your ruin. There is no freedom for man. Either a slave to Christ, or a slave to his own lusts--there is no other choice.....Better be the Lord's captive than the Lord's betrayer!"[2]

This to a man whose critical nature is thoroughly aroused! The words of Grey, "God is not wisely trusted when declared unintelligible. Such honor in dishonor stands; such faith, unfaithful, makes us falsely true. God is for our reason, and His communication, His revelation, is reason,"[3] come to him, as he faces Newcome, and the High Churchman loses all influence immediately. Catherine too might have aided him, had the intellectual side of her Christianity been more highly developed. But she does not understand how he can doubt the divinity of Christ, or ever think that miracles did not

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[1] Robert Elsmere, by Mrs. H. Ward, p. 328: Smith, Elder & Co., 1914.

[2] ibid. p. 329

[3] ibid. p. 330

happen. "Christ must either be divine or an impostor" she tells him, and knowing how his doubts hurt her, he has long ceased to tell her of the struggle.

The struggle has gone on for five months, when one morning a letter comes from the Squire, who has again gone abroad. In it was"a short but masterly analysis of the mental habits and idiosyncrasies of St. Paul, a propos of St. Paul's witness to the Resurrection."[1] Elsmere knows when he reads the letter, that his choice is made between, "the Paul of Angelican theology and the fiery fallible man of genius,"[1] but his nerves, so long under strain, give way, and for a fortnight he rests from the struggle.

An evening with the Squire, spent at his return, brings back all the tumult and going home that night, he "faces it out;"-

"'Do I believe in God? Surely, surely! 'Though He slay me yet will I trust Him!' Do I believe in Christ? Yes,--in the teacher, the martyr, the symbol to us Westerns of all thing heavenly and abiding, the image and pledge of the invisible life of the spirit,--with all my soul and all my mind!

"' But in the Man-God the Word from Eternity,--in a wonder-working Jesus, a risen and ascended Christ, in the living Intercessor and Mediator for the lives of his doomed brethren?'

"He waited, conscious that it was the crisis of his history, and there arose in him, as though articulated, one by one, by an audible voice, words of irrevocable meaning."

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[1]Robert Elsmere, by Mrs. H. Ward, p. 330: Smith, Elder & Co., 1914.

"'Every human soul in which the voice of God makes itself felt, enjoys, equally with Jesus of Nazareth, the divine sonship, and miracles do not happen.'"[1]

But though "It was done," the loss of his Christ, as he had known Him, seemed irreparable, at the time. And he must not tell Catherine, no, not yet. "He went throught the evening so that even Catherine's jealous eyes saw nothing but extra fatigue. In the most desperate straits of life love is still the fountain of all endurance, and if ever a man loved it was Robert Elsmere."[2] And during the days that followed, he questioned sorely if he could keep Catherine's love, and break her heart as he knew his decision would do, when told to her.

No, he cannot tell her until he gets Grey's advice, so he makes a trip to Oxford. Then he tells Grey all:--his decision, his belief that he must leave the Church, and his fear of telling his wife. Grey, the man of courage and faith, agrees that to leave the Church is best. He tells Elsmere that he can build upon this new belief, that it is not a dead thing. And then he sends him home to tell his wife. "Learn the lesson of your own pain--learn to seek God, not in any single event of past history, but in your own soul,--in the constant verifications of experience, in the life of Christian love.....All things change,--creeds, and philosophies and outward systems,--but God remains." These are Grey's parting words to Elsmere and he goes out much comforted. The vision of the Master and His words to Elsmere,--which we have given before,

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[1] Robert Elsmere, by Mrs. H. Ward, p. 359: Smith, Elder & Co., 1914.

in showing the effect which imagination and emotion had on Elsmere's character,--the vision of the Master, who had "had his days of doubt and nights of wrestling,"[1] adds strength to the sound advice of Grey.

So when Elsmere reaches home he tells Catherine, who, at first, cannot believe, but who finally steels herself to endure,and goes about the necessary preparation for departure. The Squire thinks Elsmere beside himself to give up his living, and would have been much better satisfied had he gone over to Atheism instead of halting as he did at Theism. It is hard for the Elsmeres, too, to leave this parish, which has become so dear to them, but in a few weeks, they are traveling on the continent; and in spite of their love for each other, and their attempts to understand, Robert and Catherine become greatly estranged.

In a short time they come back to England--not to the rugged Westmoreland hills, nor to the moors and heather of Surrey, but to foggy London, to a house in Bedford Square. There Elsmere tries in his anxious vague way to brighten up the home for Catherine, by buying a bit of screen here, and a picture there.

But when they are finally settled. Elsmere, after a long search for a suitable opening, takes up work at the East End with Murray Edwardes, a young Unitarian minister, of the "new type." There, among the warehouses, he builds up a "New Brotherhood" for the working men of that district. He founds a scientific Sunday School; and a recreation ground for the men; and gives them talks upon this "new religion". He tries to get them "to reconceive the Christ" for he believes that to be "the special task of the age."[2]

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[1] Robert Elsmere, by Mrs. H. Ward, p. 359: Smith, Elder & Co., 1914.

[2] ibid. p.496.

He teaches them to trust in a God, whose existence he believes can never be disproved. And the two phrases which loom largely on the walls of the new chapel are:

"In thee Oh Eternal do I put my trust."

and;

"This do in Remembrance of Me."[1]

Signifying an absolute faith in God, and a patterning after the "human Christ."

The work at East End prospers, but Elsmere, who has given to it his heart and soul, finds himself weakening physically. At about this time, Grey, his old professor and friend, dies and Elsmere goes up to the funeral. There Langham tells him how at the last, Grey's old Quaker aunt sat at his bed-side catechising him; "Thour't not doubting the Lord's goodness, Henry?"

"No," he said, "no never, only it seems to be His will, we should be certain of nothin but Himself. I ask no more![2]

And Elsmere at the open grave prays for light, that he may understand; and musing on the triumphant Christian service which is being held there, he feels,

"Man's hope has grown humbler than this. It keeps now a more modest mien in the presence of Eternal Mystery, but is in truth less real, less sustaining? Let Grey's trust answer for me!"[3]

And "Grey's trust" does answer for him. He goes back to his work,

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[1]Robert Elsmere, by Mrs. H. Ward, p. 499: Smith, Elder & Co., 1914.

[2]ibid. 586

[3]ibid. 586

He goes back to his work, to be called in a very short time to the bedside of old Squire Wendover, who dies--a raving madman, attacking anyone near him. While at the Squire's bedside, a new attack of the disease called by his physician "clergyman's throat" grips Elsmere in a death grip. And when he goes back to London he realizes that the message "Quittey--quittey--le long espoir it les vastes pensées!" is for him. He goes back to London but work is an impossibility; and he and Catherine go to Algiers with little Mary, who had come to them at Surrey. Catherine hopes, until the last, that his old faith will return, but his last words on the subject, spoken to Flaxman, show not change;

"I often lie here, Flaxman, wondering at the way in which men become the slaves of some mere metaphysical word--personality or intelligence or what not! What meaning can they have as applied to God? Herbert Spencer is quite right. We no sooner attempt to define what we mean by a personal God, than we lose ourselves in labyrinths of language and logic. But why attempt it all? No, we cannot realize Him in words--we can only live in Him and die in Him!"[1]

And 'Grey's trust' does answer for him even to the last.

Mrs. Ward tells us in the end that the Brotherhood still lives, and that Catherine goes back to London and does all she can for her husband's work during the week, and still attends the Angelican church on Sundays.

As you have perhaps noticed, the second plot, mentioned in the beginning of the chapter, has been entirely dropped out.

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[1]Robert Elsmere, by Mrs. H. Ward, p. 603: Smith, Elder & Co., 1914.

And though it almost overbalances the story of Elsmere in the book, the plot of Rose is of very small importance to us; since scarcely any press report discuseed it, and it contributes nothing to the religious doctrines which the author sets forth. However, the plot of rose contains the most artistic part of the story; and for those who are wondering what became of rose, I will say that, after Catherine left Westmoreland for Murewell, Rose went to London for the long coveted violin lessons. There she is very successful, both musically and socially, and, though she meets Langham at Murewell, and is twice proposed to, and accepting, is as soon rejected by the wavering Langham, she finally is won by Hugh Flaxman a wealthy bachelor aristocrat of London.

When we look back over the story, with its religious conflict, in which a cynic, a sceptic, and a Hegelian philosopher battle against a dogmatic ritualistic priest, and an uneducated Puritan woman; in which all the German, French and English critics are lined up against a Westcott: again, when we view the final outcome of this conflict namely, "a New Religion," in which "Christ must be reconceived" in the form of a "human Christ;" a religion in which miracles do not happen, in which there is no supernatural; in which the testimony of the apostles is regarded as the outcome of a credulous age; in which Paul is known as the "fallible man of genius;" a religion in which we cannot know anything of God "we can only live in Him and die to Him;" when we consider all these things, we can easily see how the book, if read at all, would create commotion among those to whom this new conception was so much heresy. And this book was read and was discussed as we shall see.

CHAPTER III

THE EFFECT OF MRS. WARD'S ROBERT ELSMERE UPON THE PRESS

The object of this chapter is to give a definite idea of the effect which Mrs. Ward's Robert Elsmere produced on the press:--first, of the amount and kind of press reports,and second, of the material contained in them. In giving the content, a full discussion of each press report has been impossible, but an attempt has been made to give, under the different topic divisions, the varying opinions, and to select under each variant the most representative comment.

Robert Elsmere was published by Macmillan and Co., in March, 1888. In July, they were bringing out an American edition of the book, which had already run through five editions in England, in its original three volume form, In December of that same year, it was estimated that 150,000 copies had been sold; and a holiday edition was then put forth. Before spring, the dry goods stores in America were selling five and ninteen cent copies, and it is said that in 1896, a New Haven apothecary advertised in his window, that with every cake of soap purchased, one copy of Robert Elsmere would be given free.[1] Since Macmillan's edition of 1888 and 1889, Smith Elder & Co. have put the book out in a one volume form; and in 1911 they published the Westmoreland Edition of Mrs. Ward's works in

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[1]Forum. Vol. 16, p. 823-831. Novels of Mrs. Ward, by Phelps.

which each work has a preface by the author. Robert Elsmere occupies the first two volumes of this set. It has been impossible to find the exact number of copies sold, but Alfred Fawkes in Littel's Living Age for 1912, estimates that the sale has reached little less than a million. He is perhaps not far from the truth.

The number of press comments upon the book and its author has been enormous, as well as has the number of sales and editions. In all, I have found, beginning with the notices of its publication, and W. E. Gladstone's article, published in May 1888, one hundred and three articles. This number includes only the English and American magazines, and books, and one English newspaper, the Times.[1] The one-hundred and three articles are divided among thirty-three different magazines, ten books, five enclycopedias, and one History of English Literature.*

Among the magazines, the Critic may boast eighteen articles on Robert Elsmere and its author, which is the largest number published by any one magazine. The Literary World has eleven, the North American Review six, the Contemporary Review and the Review of Reviews four, the Nineteenth Century and the New England and Yale Review two, and the others one. Among the books, whose authors have discussed Robert Elsmere, Mrs. J. Stuart Walter's Mrs. Humphrey Ward is the only book which devotes itself entirely to discussing the author and Robert Elsmere. The other books each contain a chapter on the subject, except Brander Matthew's, who only devotes a page, in his book, Aspects of Fiction to our author and her book.

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[1] It has been impossible to go through the other newspapers as indices to them were lacking. The material contained in them is, however, found in the magazines.

* See note on following page.

Besides these articles in magazines and books, there are five portraits of Mrs. Ward,--one in each of the following:--Book Buyer, Harpers Weekly, Little's Living Age, Critic and Outlook.** Then there are several articles which were published in consequence of the controversy about Robert Elsmere, and which deserve mention; Mrs. Ward's New Reformation;[1] Robert Elsmere's Successor;[2] Omitted Chapter of Robert Elsmere;[3] and Mrs. Ward's reply to the Bampton Lecture of Bishop John Wordsworth,[4] which contains the problem of Robert Elsmere.

To turn again to the number of press reports. It is interesting to note the tide of popularity, which Robert Elsmere and its author enjoyed, as indicated by the number of press reports in the different years. In 1888 there were forty-three of the articles written, in 1889 twelve, in 1890 four. And in the twenty-five years since, there has been some article or book in every year except 1898 and 1907. Five articles, published in 1903, directly following the publishing of Lady Rose's Daughter, which seemed to give a new reason for discussing Robert Elsmere, constitute the largest number published in any year. Her popularity was immediate, and according

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* For names of articles, authors, magazines and books a Reference List has been prepared with the chapter. See end of chapter.

For Magazines see Reference List I to XXIV.
For books " " " XXXV to XLVI.
For ency. " " " XLVI to LI.
For History " " " XXXVIII.

** See Reference List XXIV; XXV; $XXXIV_2$; XIV; $XXXII_2$.

[1] Nineteenth Century. Vol. 25: p. 454-480.

[2] Our Day. Vol. 3. 1889.

[3] New Englander. Vol. 50. 1889.

[4] North American Review. Vol. 148: p. 161-179.

to this showing is really quite lasting.

So general was the interest in the problem which Mrs. Ward discussed in Robert Elsmere, that all kinds of critics contributed to the hundred and three articles on the book and its author. There was our unknown Kansas friend, who, when writing a fiery condemnation of the religion of the book, for a local newspaper, called it Robert L. Smear. There was the statesman, Gladstone; the society woman, Louise Chandler; the ministers, Gunsaulus and Lyman A. Abbott; the literary historian, Laurie Magnus; the critic, Phelps; the college professor, R. Y. Tyrrell; the college President, Jas. Mc Cosh; the French critic, M. Th. Bentyon; the German philosopher, Beyschlag; and the Hollander, J. Van Loenen Martinet. Each had his criticism on Robert Elsmere.

And, of course, there were as many different ways of criticising the story, as there were kinds of critics. Seven of the critics devoted themselves almost entirely to literary criticism.[1] Of the others, only a few touch upon the Rose plot. Some are content if they have made an answer to a particular idea of Mrs. Ward's which seemed more obnoxious than the rest. Others, like Gladstone,[2] must attempt an answer to every opinion set forth, which is contrary to their orthodox views. To James Mc Cosh[3] Robert Elsmere recalls all the religious desturbances back of its problem; and he sets forth the fallacy as he sees it. The French critic, Bentzon,[4]

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[1] Reference List. $XXIV_1$: XIX; XLI; XLII; XLIV; XIV_6; XIII.
[2] Reference List for article. I.
[3] Ibid. $XXII_1$.
[4] Ibid. $XXIII_1$.

gives the book a long and synthetic review, but leaves the hero out of the story--to nim Catherine is the central figure. One editor sees only atheism in the book, which if allowed to go forward will wreck all the young lives of England.[1] One sees only Oxford, the "misguided and misguiding" Oxford and sets about to warn parents against sending their children there.[2] In every possible way the different men take the book up and discuss it. So we will turn now to what they had to say.

The topics discussed by the critics will be treated here under the following heads: (I) The Popularity of Robert Elsmere and the suggested causes; (II) Suggested tendencies of time as shown by the book; (III) Aim of book; (IV) Criticism dealing with the literary aspects of the book; (V) Suggested originals of characters; (VI) Defects cited which affect religious development; (VII) Value of Christian and anti-Christian authority used; (VIII) Arguments concerning Mrs. Ward's religious ideas; (IX) Estimate of the New Religion; (X) Estimate of the effect of book and of Mrs. Ward as its author. These topics I shall take up in turn, giving the number of criticisms, with reference to the complete list. Under each head, we shall give the variants in criticism of that topic, and in so far as possible, the representative ideas under each variant.

I

On the first topic--The Popularity of Robert Elsmere and the causes of it--no less than twenty-three critics have commented.[I]

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[1] Reference List for Article. X.

[2] Reference List for Article. XI.

I See next page.

Among these, the most characteristic comments on the popularity are; an editorial in the Quarterly Review which says," The success of this novel is the most interesting and instructive literary event of the present year;[Ia] a second by J. W. Howe, "nothing has created such high intellectual interest and comment since Uncle Tom's Cabin;[Ib] a third, an editorial in the critic, "Hardly a pulpit from Portland, Maine to Portland, Oregon, which has not fulminated on the radical tendency of Robert Elsmere;"[Ic] and a fourth by W. L. Phelps, "The reviewers have gone mad."[Id]

The suggested causes of this popularity are quite varied. Julia Wedgewood suggests, "Mrs. Ward's money and fame has something to do with the popularity of Robert Elsmere."[Ie] Morton Payne suggests, "The interest lies in the vitality of the problem."[If] L. A. Abbott suggests, "It is popular because it represents a state of mind, not because it represents a consistent religious philosophy."[Ig] Critic in Encyclopedia Brittanica says "Largely in consequence of a review by Gladstone, the book became the talk of the civilized world."[Ih] And Jas. Mc Cosh says, "The book owes its popularity to its own attractiveness, and delicate perception of character, its moving scenes and its pictorial style."[Ii] So we have every cause given for the popularity of Robert Elsmere, but there is no one who does not recognize that it was very popular.

I See Reference List for complete number of articles:--- V_5, XI, VIII, XIX, XXIX, XVIII, X, XXI, XXXIV, XII, XXIII, XXXIX, XXXIV, XLIII, XLX, XLVII, XXII, $XXII_3$, $XXII_4$, $XXII_5$, $XXII_8$, $XXII_{11}$, XXXI, XXXIV.

Ia. See Reference List. X.
Ib. See Reference List. XXI.

II

On the book, and its popularity as showing tendencies of the times, the comments are not so varied, though there were twenty who offered opinions along that line.[II] Two comments express the opinions on the popularity as displaying a tendency of the times. The first is from an editorial in the Quarterly Review,[IIa] "Its popularity proves it has touched some general and deep source of public feeling;" the second is by Jas. Mc Cosh, "The book is popular because of the vivid picture it presents of the religious struggle many of our day have passed through."[IIb]

The suggested tendencies as shown by the content of the book are more varied. Beyschlag the German reviewer of Elsmere says "The state of religion attested by Mrs Ward's book is that England has no living theology.'"[IIc] This comment differs somewhat from Randall T. Davidson who seems to think theology a general possession, "This novel attests the fact that this is an age of boiling down, so that every one knows a little bit about everthing, and anyone attempts and considers himself capable of discussing the deepest problems of our being, and the subtlest mysteries of our faith.[IId]

Ic. See Reference List. XIV_{11}.

Id. See Reference List. XXXI.

Ie. See Reference List. V_4.

If. See Reference List. VI.

Ig. See Reference List. VIII.

Ih. See Reference List. XLVII.

Ii. See Reference List. $XXII_3$.

An editorial in the Spectator recognizes the book "as one of the most striking pictures of a sincere religious ideal, a religious ideal peculiar to the present age, that has ever been presented to our generation under the guise of a modern novel."[IIe] J. Stuart Walters in his book, Mrs. Humphrey Ward, says "Mrs. Ward mirrors the mind of the last two decades."[IIf] But Henry James in Essays in London and Elsewhere differs from these last two in his opinion,"The novel is one of intensity of feeling to many but one of contemporary thought to few."[IIg]

III

We turn now to what the critics thought was the aim of Mrs. Ward in writing Robert Elsmere. Fifteen different critics have offered opinions on this subject.[III] Each seemed to recognize the

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II. For articles see Reference List. I, II, $XXIII_2$, V_1, V_2, V_3, V_4, $XXIV_{1b}$, VIII, XIX, IC, X, XX, XVI_4, IV, XXXV, XXXIX, XL, XI, $XXII_3$.

IIa. See Reference List. X.

IIb. See Reference List. $XXIII_3$.

IIc. See Reference List. $XXIII_2$.

IId. See Reference List. V_2.

IIe. See Reference List. IX.

IIf. See Reference List. XXXIX

IIg. See Reference List. XL

III.See Reference List for articles. I. II. $XVIII_2$, VI, VII, $XXXIV_{1a}$, IX, XXI_2, IV, XXXIX, XXXVII, XI, XXXIV, XII, XXX.

didacticism of the book and as we shall see some commended it, and others consured it. But they differ in their ideas of what Mrs. Ward meant to teach with her didacticism. One critic admits the lesson to be somewhat obscured when he says, "Her discussion admits of different conclusions concerning the lesson she meant to teach."[IIIa] But Gladstone does not fear to decide, "It is a devout attempt made in good faith to simplify the difficult mission of religion in the world, by discarding the supposed lumber of Christian theology, while retaining and applying, in their undiminished breadth of scope the whole personal, social, and spiritual morality, which has now entered into the patrimony of Christianity and of the race."[IIIb] Again Anna L. Henderson says, "Mrs. Ward believes in reflecting the problems that disturb and agitate our souls."[IIIc] And Walter Pater in his Essays from the Guardian says, "Mrs. Ward wished to express a phase of conflict between tradition and modernity."[IIId] An editorial in the Andover Review says, "Mrs. Ward's aim was to sketch in theory, and reveal in practice a religious ordering of life, which shall be the fitting exponent of a progressive revelation of God, in human reason and history."[IIIe] Morton Payne says, "It is too much trying to impress Literature and Dogma upon readers."[IIIf] Another goes furthur about the Arnoldian tendency, "She shows the curious Arnoldian tendency to make people believe and reject more

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III_a See Reference List for article. II.

III_b. " " " " " I.

III_c. " " " " " XXX.

III_d. " " " " " XXXVII.

III_e. " " " " " IV.

more than they did before, and to take rather more credit for what in it makes them reject than for what it makes them believe."[IIIg] Mr. J. Stuart Walters seems to me to get the "Arnoldian," attitude when he says, "Robert Elsmere is not meant as an attack upon religion any more than Literature and Dogma. Its true aim is to convey the unessentiality of dogma."[IIIh]

IV

The material for the fourth topic, Literary Criticism, is very scattered, and in most instances does not give a true literary estimate. There is some significance in the evidence these articles give, that personal "taste" for the content of a book may color all a critic may think or say about it. In discussing Robert Elsmere, "taste" amounted to prejudice, in the case of many a critic, and too, there were a number who did not have the ability to judge, were they free from prejudice. In forty-three different articles I found some criticism, which was, perhaps, intended to be literary.[IV] Seven of these dealt almost exclusively with the literary value of

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IIIf. See Reference List. VI.

IIIg. " " " IX.

IIIh " " " XXXIX.

IV. For complete list of critics treating literary value Robert Elsmere see Reference List. I, III, V_1, V_4, VI, $XVIII_5$, IX, $XXIV_{1b}$, XIII, XIX, X, XX, XXI_2, XXI_4, IV, XXXVII, XXIX, XL, XLV, LI, $XXII_6$, XXXIII, XXXIV, $XXII_3$, XIV_5, XIV_4, XII, XIII, $XVIII_5$, XXXI XV, VII, XXIV, XLVIII, XI, XIV_4, XIV , XLII, XIV_4 , XXV, $XVIII_5$, XVII.

the story;[IVa] all range widely in value and kind given.

Some of the first extravagant extimates of the book read like this, "It is a novel of a decade,""It will have a permanent place in English Literature,"[IVb] or, "It is a masterpiece in many respects,--better worthy of study than anything in the literature of recent years."[IVc] And others "It is a mere advertisement of 'St. Jacob's Oil,"[IVd] or "It is only an echo of an echo."[IVe] Later praise is still rather highly colored "Robert Elsmere is immortal; it is no ephemeral work. It is a national classic--in the mental development of a nation,"[IVf] or, "It is undoubtedly the best problem novel that has ever appeared in English."[IVg] Adverse criticism seems somewhat more moderate, as, "It is near the ungenial category of a symposium in a review,"[IVh] though one reported from Oscar Wilde is very radical," It is Literature and Dogma with the Literature left out."[IVi]

The estimate of the book, in their extravagant praise and blame are characteristic of all the literary criticism. Therefore fewer examples of variants in the remaining topics will be sufficient. On didacticism a few remarks are characteristic of all, as "The

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IVa. See Ref. List. $XXIV_{1b}$, XIX, XLII, XLI, XLIV, XIV_6, VIII.

IVb. " " " VII.

IVc. " " " $XXIV_{1a}$.

IVd. " " " XIX.

IVe. " " " $XXII_1$.

IVf. " " " XXXIX.

IVg. " " " XLVIII.

IVh. " " " XXXIII.

IVi. " " " XXXI.

novel is not the medium for doctrines,"[IVj] and a reply, "didacticism needs no apology."[IVk] Another adverse to Mrs. Ward's didacticism says,"There is too much trying to impress Literature and Dogma upon readers, to give the best literary effect. The moral lesson is too evident."[IVl] And another in its praise, "No one will deny that a legitimate function of the novel is to trace the influence of religion upon human character. The modern novel of character needs some such interest to lift it sufficiently above the humdrum of life."[IVm]

Then, of the action, plot, humor, dramatic power, length and so forth, the same prejudices mind, and unskilled critic speaks again. All agree that the story is rather long, though to one it is, "long and wearisome"[IVn] and to another, "unusually long but without a dull page."[IVo] They agree too that the author's portrayal of nature is good, and about the plot such estimates are characteristic of them all, as "There is little attempt at plot,"[IVp] or, "The Story needs more plot."[IVq] Most of them do not judge of its narrative action. But of those who do, "The intellectuality of theme, and lack of action would preclude possibility of dramatization," and "The author has no narrative gift, she is rather an essayist,"IVr

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IVj. See Reference List. XXXI.

IVk. " " " XXXIV.

IVl. " " " VI.

IVm. " " " XXXVII.

IVn. " " " XX.

IVo. " " " IV.

IVp. " " " $XXIX_{1b}$.

IVq. " " " IX.

are the general opinion.

But on the estimate of dramatic power, and of humor, the critics are at variance again. Of its dramatic power one says, "It is too intense to be true. It is not only dramatic but melodramatic."[IVs] Another, "It has high artistic and literary finish and great dramatic power,"[IVt] and another, "There is very little dramatic effect in the book."[IVu] Of its humor, there are those who comment--"There is unusual and refined humor of scenes in volume one," IVv or,"Mrs. Ward has a quiet humor which never fails her."[IVw] Then there are those who feel a lack of humor, but who do not condemn it,--"There is no wit, but there is wisdom. This is not a defect to Anglo-Saxons, though it would but to a Latin or a Celt,"[IVx] or, "Deficiency in humor is welcome in an age when amusement is often bought, too dear."[IVy] And there are those who find a lack of humor, and consider it a bad thing,--"It is deficient in humor, and lacking in pathos,"[IVz] or"The book is utterly lacking in its sense of humor."[IV$_1$]

IVr. See Reference List. XIV$_6$.
IVs. " " " VIII.
IVt. " " " XXIV.
IVu. " " " XIX.
IVv. " " " V$_1$.
IVw. " " " XXXVII.
IVx. " " " XXXIX.
IVy. " " " LI.
IVz. " " " XIII
IV$_1$. " " " XXXI.

I have placed Mrs. Ward's characterization under a separate head because the attitude of so many critics was, "The book is a novel of character,"[IV2] and more than half of those, who gave literary criticism, discussed her characters at length. Here as elsewhere they differ. First, in their estimate of Mrs. Ward's character portrayal, there is praise, as, "The characters are firmly drawn;"[IV3] "The characters stand out with cameo effect;"[IV4] then there is qualified praise, as, "The characters are skillfully drawn and finely colored. They are alive, but only because of an idea."[IV5] And then there is censure, as, "none of the characters have real existence,"[IV6] or, "The prominent figures are mere conveniences to help the memory hold the threads of argument."[IV7] On Mrs. Ward's power of portraying men as compared with her power of portraying women they agree, "The author is more skillful in dealing with women than with men,"[IV8] and, "The men are mere states of consciousness, but the women are real, and live in the mind."[IV9]

Besides discussing Mrs. Ward's power of character portrayal, the critics have given their estimates of the prominent characters. One says, "Langham is the most original character in the book."[IV10]

IV_2 .	See	Reference	List.	XIII
IV_3 .	"	"	"	XIII
IV_4 .	"	"	"	XX
IV_5 .	"	"	"	$XXXIV_1$
IV_6 .	"	"	"	XIX
IV_7 .	"	"	"	XV
IV_8 .	"	"	"	XXXVII
IV_9	"	"	"	IX
IV_{10}.	"	"	"	V_1

another, "Catherine remains the one redeeming feature of an otherwise demoralized and demoralizing society,"[IV11] or, "Catherine is a picture of tender saintliness and modern puritanism, not to be matched by anything in our day,"[IV12] or, "Catherine is the real centre of the book,--she is life;"[IV13] another, "Wendover is the most powerfully drawn character in the book;"[IV15] And contrary to these, "Langham is an impossible combination;"[IV16] "Catherine loses definiteness after the first book,"[IV17] or, "Catherine is a very dull woman;"[IV18] and again, "Rose is not successfull as a foil to Catherine."[IV19]

One of the characters, Robert Elsmere himself, the hero of our story, deserves a special place, both because he is the hero, and because, if the critics commented on the other characters, they commented enormously about him. As will be seen the critics drift a long way from literary criticism, when they talk of Robert Elsmere. Pater represents those who commented favorably on Robert Elsmere,--"Robert is well worth knowing. He is an attractive union of manliness and stateliness, shrewd sense and unworldly aims, kindness and piety. But both he and Catherine feel too much, the charm of renun-

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IV_{11}. See Reference List. X

IV_{12}. " " " IX

IV_{13}. " " " XXXIII

IV_{14} " " " XI

IV_{15} " " " IV

IV_{16} " " " V_1

IV_{17} " " " IV

IV_{18} " " " V.

ciation and martyrdom."[IV20] While adverse criticism is common, such as, "He is a mere bundle of ideas;"[IV21] "One turns with disgust from the weakness and trifling of Robert Elsmere."[IV22] "Elsmere is hardly the type to win belief in the new gospel. Granting his character, he is at the mercy of the first new book. Had the squire come along with The Savage Origins of Theism, he must needs have changed his belief."[IV23] "Elsmere's character is real but not Elsmere--he is what the school of Mill reduces all personality to--'a thread of successive states of consciousness,'--not a person."[IV24] All these were comments about Mrs. Ward's hero, Robert Elsmere.

Partly because of a slight similiarity between Mrs. Ward's hero, Robert Elsmere, and Geo. Eliot's Adam Bede, but more because of the didactic quality of both novels, Mrs. Ward was compared with Geo. Eliot. One calls her the, "later day Geo. Eliot,"[IV25] another says she is, "the heir of Geo. Eliot. Robert Elsmere is as well known today as Adam Bede was thirty years ago,"[IV26] another thinks Mrs. Ward is the "only one of the English writers deserving to be classed with Geo. Eliot."[IV27] Then they compare Mrs. Ward's power of writing to Geo. Eliot's, as, "She has less force and thoughtful-

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IV_{19}. See Reference List. V_1.
IV_{20}. " " " XXXVII.
IV_{21} " " " XXXIII.
IV_{22} " " " XIV_6
IV_{23} " " " V_1.
IV_{24} " " " XIX.
IV_{25} " " " XIV_4.
IV_{26} " " " V_4.

ness than Geo. Eliot,"[IV28] and "She lacks Geo. Eliot's high imaginative power."[IV29] Then they compare the books, Adam Bede and Robert Elsmere, as, "Robert Elsmere is the novel most likely to sway or to undermine belief, since the days of Geo. Eliot's Adam Bede;"[IV30] and "Robert Elsmere lacks the quality of truth in the work of Geo. Eliot. In Adam Bede, we look at life, in Robert Elsmere, at a stage."[IV31] Last, there is discussed the didacticism of the two authors. "Mrs. Ward differs from Geo. Eliot, in that her purpose stands out too plainly,"[IV32] and "Geo. Eliot was an agnostic, but she had scruples against propagandism--not so Mrs. Ward. She uses the spirit of criticism and proselytism, and places beside the Church of England, the 'New Brotherhood.'"[IV33] And in the end, one would say that Mrs. Ward fares rather badly at the hands of the critics, when compared to the author of Adam Bede.

V

We turn now from these really unliterary "literary criticisms," to criticism concerning the originals of the characters in Mrs. Ward's Robert Elsmere. Not only did the reviewers discuss the characters of Robert Elsmere, but, to many of them, these characters

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IV_{27}. See Reference List. XLI.
IV_{28}. " " " XX.
IV_{29}. " " " XXV.
IV_{30}. " " " XXIII.
IV_{31}. " " " XIV.
IV_{32} " " " XV.
IV_{33} " " " XLII.

called to mind some friend, or enemy, or even a fictitious character whom they had known or read about. Eleven of them spoke of it, and gave definite persons whom they were sure this one or that one represented.[V] C. S. Olcott wrote an interesting article on Mrs. Ward's Real Places and People,[Va] and in it he suggests that Mark Pattison, Professor and Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford, is the original of Swuire Wendover. He, as all others, say that Grey is the Oxford philosopher, R. H. Green; and as Langham's original, he suggests as does J. Stuart Walters,[Vb] that the essayist, philosopher and dreamer, Henri Frederic Amiel is unmistakably real. Mrs. Ward, herself, he thinks, as does also an editor of Harper's,[Vc] is the original of the hero Robert Elsmere, in very thin disguise. Others do not agree with C. S. Olcott. The Times editorial,[Vd] published soon after the book appeared, hopes there is no original of Langham, but is sure that Charles Kingsley, with his restless soul, his piercing enthusiasm, his versatility, his personal charm, and his interest in the poor, is the very one whom Robert Elsmere represents. But though the "voice of the people," expressed in the Times, wished for no original for Langham, Anna Blanche McGill[Ve] says there is some resemblance in Edward Langham to Matthew Arnold himself, in his days of early manhood when he loved Sesaniour. And an anonymous editorial, in the Literary World,[Vf] pictures an unknown and undiscoverable

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V . See Reference List. V_1, V_3, IX, X, XII, XIII, XXIV, $XXXII_1$, XXXIX, XXXVIII.

Va. See Reference List. $XXXII_1$.

Vb. " " " XXXVIII.

Vc. " " " XXV.

Eustace Kendel, doing the very things Langham did. Squire Wendover too, is not allowed to take Mark Pattison as his original, without dispute. Vincent Tymmes, in writing on Agnostic Expositions, says, "If Huxley himself had taken the squire's place, it would have been more real and the outcome the same,"[Vg] and a Quarterly Review editor says, "The Squire is a combination of Matthew Arnold, Mr. Grey and the author of Supernatural Religion."[Vh]

The hero of the story is not Mrs. Ward or Charles Kingsley to Andrew Lang[Vi] or to a writer of an editorial in the Literary World.[Vj.] To Andrew Lang, Carlyle's friend, Edward Irving, a Scotch minister and writer, who was a worker among the poor; and who, in his preaching, attempted to help people with something beside "outworn theology," is the original of Robert Elsmere. To the other critic, Robert Elsmere is Arnold Toynbee, who was a social reformer who used the "historical method" in his economic science, and who, like Elsmere, died of overwork among the London workingmen of the East End.

Curiously enough, the women seem to have suggested no originals, and one is tempted, from the fact, to question the agreement

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Vd. See Reference List. XII.

Ve. " " " $XXIV_2$.

Vf. " " " XXIII.

Vg. " " " V_3.

Vh. " " " X.

Vi. " " " V_1.

Vj. " " " XIII.

of the critics, that "the women are more real than the men." At least to these critics who have written about the "real people"of Mrs. Ward, the men seem to have been the real people.

VI

The remaining topics, on which we are to examine the criticisms, deal with the most discussed content of the book, namely, its religious or rather, as most critics would have it, its anti-religious elements. First we take up the defects cited, which pertain to the religious outcome of the story. Fifteen articles contain citations of defect.[VI]

The critics usually comment on Mrs. Ward's unfairness of attitude first. Gladstone[VIa] sarcastically remarks, "The dedication of the book to two friends of such opposite views, as T. H. Green and Mary Lyttelton held, is evidence of Mrs. Ward's impartiality." Later he says, "The duel is fought with unequal arms," and, "One side is a pean, the other a blank," both of which comments are more characteristic of the critics' attitudes. Another critic says, on the same subject, "The defect of omitting some slight representation of the arguments for the other side, passes all tolerable bounds in Robert Elsmere."[VIb] The Lutheran pastor, Rev. Chas. S. Albert says, "The fatal defect of the book is its unfairness,--as though there were not an argument which could be used against the Squire, Langham and Grey."[Vc]

VI. Reference List for articles. I, IV, V_2, V_3, VIII, IX X, XV, $XVIII_5$, XX, XXI_2, $XXII_2$, $XXIII_3$, XXXIX, XLI

VIa. Reference List. I

But Mrs. Ward's overbalance of argument for the sceptics is not the only defect cited. Lyman A. Abbott[VId] wants the sermon Grey preached to Elsmere at Oxford, and the letter Elsmere wrote to his mother about it. He wonders what Vicar Mottingham said to Catherine about the work in the East End, and, when Mrs. Ward tells us, "All this Langham put into words, with an extraordinary magic and delicacy of phrase," L. A. Abbott would like to know what the words were. Vincent Tymms[VIe] asks for the conversations between Elsmere and the Squire, which are said to have had such effect on Elsmere's decision. And Joseph Cook,[VIf] asks for the Squire's book on the History of Testimony, and thinks the Squire's arguments could be easily met then. We wonder, when these critics are asking for these added arguments, this book of the Squire, the sermon of Grey, and the letter of Elsmere, if they really expected Mrs. Ward to include all these in one--novel. They themselves, however, with the help of other critics, helped greatly to supply this lack of argument, and one even goes so far as to write an Omitted Chapter of Robert Elsmere, in which he attempts to give the other side of the argument for Elsmere's religious decisions.[VIg]

VIb. See Reference List. V.

VIc. " " " XX.

VId. " " " VIII.

VIe. " " " V_3.

VIf. " " " $XXII_2$.

VIg. " New Englander Mag. Vol. 50. 1889. "Omitted Chapter of Robert Elsmere."

VII

Before taking up the arguments against Mrs. Ward's new religious ideas, we will see what the critics say about the value of testimony, which Mrs. Ward used in the book, against Christianity and for it. Thirteen critics speak out about the quality of testimony used.[VII] An editor of the Andover Review takes a rather unique position among them, when he admits, that perhaps Mrs. Ward is justified in ignoring the Christian apoligists, because, as he says, "They have not worked enough from the centre."[VIIa] Hutton's attitude is more representative of the group, when he says, "Elsmere's wrath with the isolation of Christianity is uncalled for, because it looms up, the more it is compared with other religions."[VIIb] Randall T. Davidson agrees with Hutton's attitude, when he says Mrs. Ward is mistaken sbout the isolation of Christianity by Westcott, and cites Westcott's Gospel of the Resurrection, pp. 60-63, as proof. He continues furthur to say, "There is evidence everywhere that Mrs. Ward has not made herself acquainted with the Christian apologists."[VIIc] Professor R. Y. Tyrrell says, "Elsmere could have refuted Grey's and Wendover's arguments had he read Dr. Salmon's Introduction to the New Testament,"[VIId] a book written by an Oxford man. And James Mc Cosh says, that Professor Fisher of Yale refutes all the arguments against Christianity, which Robert Elsmere contains, in his book, Grounds of Theistic and Christian Belief.[VIIe] And again, James

VII. See Reference List for articles, I, IV, V_2, VIII, $XVII_2$, XVIII, XIX, XX, $XXII_3$, $XXIII_2$, XXXV, XXXVI, XXVII.

VIIa. See Reference List. IV.

VIIb. " " " XXXVI.

Mc Cosh states well the general criticism of the reviewers on the German ideas, which Mrs. Ward uses as authority for the decisions of Robert Elsmere,--[VIIf] "These theories were answered in Germany long ago, and when brought into England were answered immediately," From these criticisms, one would judge that Mrs. Ward's testimany is faulty on both sides of the discussion, and consequently was not alarming in its effect. The critics'haste to argue against her anti-Christian views is due then, to the fact, that they knew many were ignorant of the fallacies in the book.

VIII

We take up now the arguments used against Mrs. Ward's ideas of miracles, divinity of Christ, dogma, and testimony for Christianity. Mrs. Ward, you will remember, sets up theories and opposition to the orthodox views of each of these; and many consider her unfair in her reasonings against them. Twenty-three critics have set up arguments against Mrs. Ward, attempting to remedy the defects, which they feel make the religious outcome of the story what it is.[VIII] Seven of these critics,[VIIIa] while they are represen-

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VIIc. See Reference List. V_2.

VIId. " " " XIX.

VIIe. " " " $XXII_3$.

VIIf. " " " $XXII_3$.

VIII. " " " I, IV, V, V_2, V_3, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII, XVII, XIX, XX, XXI, XXI_4, $XXII_1$, $XXII_2$, $XXII_3$. $XXII_4$. $XXII_6$ $XXIII_2$, XXXV, XXXVI, XXX.

VIIIa. See Reference List. XXI, XXXVI, $XXII_1$, XIX, VIII, I XX.

tive ones, are perhaps more trustworthy, it seems to me than many of the others, because some greater degree of "Hellenism" is mixed with their "Hebraism". So, as far as possible, I have quoted from them.

First on miracles, James Mc Cosh says,[VIIIb] "miracles are interwoven indispensibly with Christianity." Then he cites as argument for them 1st, the feeling of need for God; 2d, the results of the resurrection, of which he says there is just as much evidence as there is that Julius Caesar died; 3d, that the fact of a Galilean peasant attaining such wisdom is a miracle in itself; or as Joseph Cook states it, "The character of Christ is the unassailable reality and that is a supreme miracle;"[VIIIc] and 4th, that there is the argument of the testimony of competent men. Gladstone argues further, "The impossibility of miracles will limit the power of will to control matter,"[VIIId] and the German critic, Beyschlag, puts the same thought into these words, "Man's will can disturb the order of nature. Why not God's?"[VIIIe] Chas. Albert gives the only other argument, which I found differing from the others mentioned,--"There were no miracles and no prophets for one-hundred years before Christ came, therefore why give avidity for miracles on the past of the

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VIIIb. See Reference List. $XXII_1$

VIIIc. " " " $XXII_2$

VIIId. " " " I

VIIIe. " " " $XIII_2$

Note. Just a word about the "Historical Method" of criticism which Mrs. Ward uses as though all Christian apologists were against it, and it were an entirely new thing in its application to Christianity. None of the critics I have found are unwilling that the "historical method" be used throughout.

people, as a proof that there were none."[VIIIf]

On the subject of dogma, the critics differ. Some do not believe dogma essential to faith in Christianity. They comment somewhat as follows:--

E. E. Hale, "If the simple atonement without creeds had meant what it should, the study of Ante-Nicene History would have done nothing at disturbing Elsmere's faith.....Creeds are unnecessary to the essential truth of Christianity."[VIIIg]

And J. W. Howe, "Religion does not consist in the acceptance of the spirit which makes them possible."[VIIIh] Another, "The first clause of the apostles creed is accepted by Mrs. Ward, and the other rejected. In that, she is inconsistent. But what if the creeds must go. 'Does it follow that nothing is true because part is false?'"[VIIIi]

But others are strongly against doing away with dogma. Among these Gladstone is the most radical, and he sums up the opinions of all those with him,--"Belief in God is dogma and Mrs. Ward does not think of surrendering that;""The apostles creed is a strengthening of Christianity, therefore the removal of it is not very hopeful for a gain in strength;" "The chasm between deity and humanity yawns at our feet when we do away with dogma."[VIIIj]

So we find most of the critics willing that dogma should

VIIIf. See Reference List. VII.

VIIIg. " " " XXI_1.

VIIIh. " " " XI.

VIIIi. " " " I.

VIIIj. " " " $XXIII_3$.

go, but questioning the necessity of losing the essentials of faith, were it really given up.

But of the divinity of Christ, the critics spoke against Mrs. Ward--with the exception of the Dutch scholar, J. Van Leimen Martinet.[VIIIk] He agrees with Mrs. Ward throughout, and says the man of Elsmere's belief is common in Holland.

But other critics do not seem to favor Mrs. Ward's idea of a human Christ. They argue against her:--

"If Christ was human his life was not ideal, for he had no sense of having sinned."[VIIIl]

or, "Christ's divinity is a necessity to a believer."[VIIIm]

or, "Jesus must be what he claimed to be, or else he was not a good man."[VIIIn]

or, "How could a Palestine peasant have planned and carried to completion all that Jesus did in three years? A human being could not have done it all,"[VIIIo]

or, "If God did not fuse the divine with the human in Christ, and if He was not a perfect personation, then the Theistic conception in the book is unsound, as scientific positivists declare it to be."[VIIIp]

Again, on the testimony supporting Christianity which Mrs.

VIIIk. See Reference List. $XXIII_3$.

VIIIl. " " " IX_5.

VIIIm. " " " IV.

VIIIn. " " " $XXII_2$.

VIIIo. " " " XI.

VIIIp. " " " XXXVI

Ward regarded as almost valueless, the critics argue,--"Mrs. Ward cannot mean that testimony is less trustworthy the farther back it goes--that would be one of those vague generalizations which is the vice of our day. All testimony wants sifting."[VIIIq] The same critic brings up Paul's Roman origin, the scepticism of the Christ age, and the Roman culture, as evidence of the trustworthiness of the testimony of the Christ age. And he concludes, "What can be less historical than that a man allow his mind to be disturbed, as to the trustworthiness of records in the first century, by the superstitious chronicles of the seventh and eighth." Walter Pater says, "The weight of testimany is its worth.....Elsmere never faces the fact of the church and its progress in the world, nor its foundation on historical fact.[VIIIr] And R. L. Hutton says, "Man's power of apprehending and recording what he sees and hears was just as great in Christ's age as now, for example the Greek and Roamn literature."[VIIIs] This concludes the arguments against Mrs. Ward's ideas of Christianity.

IX

But Mrs. Ward does not stop with a criticism of the orthodox views of Christianity. When she has done away with the things in it, that are obnoxious to her, she founds a New Religion on the site of the old. And so the critics do not stop with arguing against her unorthodox views, but give their estimate of this new

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VIIIq. See Reference List. X.

VIIIr. " " " XXXV.

VIIIs. " " " XXXVI.

creation of hers--this New Brotherhood. Reviewers, thirty in number, differ in their estimates of it.[IX]

Several commend it:--

J. Stuart Walters says, "It is a religion of action, a blessed blend of all that is best in Christianity, with much of good in Spencer and Marx."[IXa] The Times says "Elsmere's New Religion is no less tenable than he found Christianity. Nor is it merely altruism, clothed with the name of the Deity for the sake of old associations."[IXb] And Dr. Heber says, "Robert Elsmere tells us the supreme religious duty of the day--service to fellow-man. Only when love to God and love of man unite, can there be a solution to our social and religious difficulties."[IXc]

But the commendations are weak when compared to adverse estimates, such as, "It is death changed for life;"[IXd] "It substitutes hero-worship for the worship of an incarnate and manifest God."[IXe] "If not profane, at least the articles of the new faith are childish;"[IXf] "The new Christ is a most wonderful fairy-tale;"[IXg]

IX. See Reference List. I, III, IV, V_1, V_2, V_3, V_4, VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII, XVII, XVIII, XX, XXI_2, XXI_4, $XXII_1$, $XXII_3$, XIV_4, XIV_5, XIV_6, XV, $XXIII_3$, XXXV, XXXVI, XXXIX, XLII, XXVII, $XXIII_2$

IXa. See Reference List. XXXIX.

IXb. " " " XII.

IXc. " " " XIV_3.

IXd. " " " V_4.

IXe. " " " VIII.

IXf. " " " X.

IXg. " " " XXI_2.

"The Religion left is no religion at all;"[IXh] "The contradictions of this new religion must soon come to light. Even Prof. T. H. Green would not have predicted a bright future for the Elsmere organization;"[IXi] "Mrs. Ward speaks scornfully of the Unitarians, but it is difficult to see where her new religion differs from theirs."[IXj] "It is a'painted ship upon a painted ocean';"[IXk] and Beyschlag says "There is no novelty or religion in Mrs. Ward's New Religion. It was tried and failed in Germany forty years ago."[IXl]

X

And when the critics were done with their literary and religious discussions of the book, most of them, prophesied, what the effect of the book would be upon the readers; and also gave some idea of Mrs. Ward as the author of Robert Elsmere.

Three criticisms are representative of the different attitudes toward the effect, which critics thought the book would produce:--a Quarterly Review critic says he thinks parents should be warned concerning Oxford and its atheism, and he thinks Elsmere may do good as a warning to Christianity against the world and scepticsm.[Xa] Chas. S. Albert says, "whether the book is dangerous or not depends on the temperaments with which it comes in contact."[Xb] And Lyman A. Abbott says, "Let the children read it and be ready to give answer to the questions they will ask. Guard from error by striking the roots of truth too deep for any blast. Robert Elsmere will do good

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IXh. See Reference List. XI.

IXi. " " " XXII$_2$.

IXj. " " " XV.

in compeling men to know what they believe. Faith which has endured shaking is much better than unshaken faith."[Xc]

And the critics continue to disagree about Mrs. Ward as they did about her book, about its problems and its peoples, and about the effect it would produce in its readers. Tolstoi's praise is characteristic of those who liked Mrs. Ward's propaganda,--"Mrs. Ward is England's greatest living novelist;"[Xd] while W. L. Phelps expresses the attitude of those who opposed her,--"It is high time some one spoke out his mind about Mrs. Ward. She is not vulgar or cheap--she never wrote a positively bad book, except Bessie Costrell. She has critical but not creative ability. She is destitute of the divine spark of genius--a publicist rather than an artist."[Xe]

When we sum up the number of copies of Robert Elsmere which have been published, and the number of comments, which have been published in magazines and books, the effect, which Mrs. Humphrey Ward's Robert Elsmere produced upon the press, seems very great.

IXk. See Reference List. I.
IXl. " " " XVIII$_2$.
Xa . " " " X.
Xb. " " " XX.
Xc. " " " VIII.
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CHAPTER IV

ROBERT ELSMERE, A STORY FORM OF LITERATURE AND DOGMA

In studying the life of Mrs. Humphrey Ward; in reading carefully her Robert Elsmere; and in examining the press comment concerning the book, I have been impressed with the fact that the religious problems of her time were important to Mrs. Ward, that they occupied an important place in her book; and seemed of greatest concern to the critics who commented upon Robert Elsmere. It seems pertinent, therefore, in this concluding chapter, to discuss the immediate source of the religious views, which make up the problem of Robert Elsmere.

I first examined all the articles, which Mrs. Ward has written upon religion. There are only a few of these:--one on Sin and Unbelief, a reply to a Bampton Lecture by Bishop John Wordsworth, in which "Sin is unbelief" was the main thesis, is said to contain the germ of Robert Elsmere. And it is indeed the undeveloped theory of Robert Elsmere.[1] But a searching of this article and of the four other articles, "New Reformation,"[2] "Literature of Introspection,"[3] "Faith and Fantasy,"[4] and Mrs. Ward's New Faith,"[5] gave no clue to

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1 North American Review. Vol. 148. p. 161-179.

2 19th Century. Vol. 25. p. 454-480.

3 Macmillan's Magazine. Vol. 49. p. 195.

4 Dial. Vol. 26. p. 198.

5 Review of Reviews. Vol. 28.

the source of religious theory in Robert Elsmere. The intelligent way in which she mentioned in her books the great writers and thinkers, gave proof of her acquaintance with the literature and thought of the best type. I had found too that she had known such men as the sceptic, Mark Pattison, and the Hegelian philosopher, Thomas Hill Green, during her long stay at Oxford. But after examining closely Robert Elsmere I felt Mrs. Ward had not definitely portrayed these, nor were the vacillations of her father from Catholicism to Protestantism her theme. However the press reports gave me the clue which seems to me the correct one. I had read now and then such comments as this, "The book tries too much to impress Literature and Dogma upon its readers,"[1] So I turned to Matthew Arnold's Literature and Dogma, and was surprised, when I had read it, that more critics had not commented upon the similarity its message bears to that of Mrs. Ward's Robert Elsmere. The important characters, the importent attitudes, the important theories, the new religion of Robert Elsmere, has each its counterpart in Literature and Dogma. Allowance must be make for the story method in Robert Elsmere, which somewhat obscures the fundamental theories. But making allowance for the coating of fiction, let us see just how far Mrs. Ward does seem to follow the leading of Arnold's Literature and Dogma.

First, on examination, the important characters of Robert Elsmere seem to represent the different types which Arnold gives us in Literature and Dogma. Catherine, the noble Puritan wife of Elsmere is easily recognized as the Puritan type of woman, which Arnold does not wholly admire, "one of a number of devout women, who, in

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[1] Dial. Vol. 19. Recent Fiction, by Morton Payne.

the history of religion, have at all times played a part, in many respects so beautiful, but in some respects so mischievous,"[1] "glorying in its resistences,"[2] "to whom the question does not come, can religion be verified?"[3] Squire Wendover, too, Mrs. Ward tells us, "had been thinking and writing of religion and of the history of ideas all his life. But had never yet grasped the meaning of religion to the religious man. God and faith--what have these venerable ideas ever mattered to him personally, except as the subjects of the most ingenious analysis, the most delicatehistorical inductions? Not only sceptical to the core but constitutionally indifferent, the squire had always found enough to make life amply worth living in the mere dissection of other men's beliefs."[4] This man is easily identified with the man, whom Arnold describes in his preface, as playing entirely into the hands of scientific criticism, and rejecting all because a part is false.[5] Wendover really gives us a phase of Arnold's characterization of Mr. Huxley,[6] or Mr. Bradlaugh[7] or even Mr. Spencer,[8]--a destroyer but no builder. Newcome, the ritualistic priest, is of the type whom Arnold describes as "constantly assuming there is an opposition between faith and reason; and that those, whom Jesus Christ calls to believe in him, he calls to receive a doctrine as puzzling to the reason, but which if adopted will gradually become clear;" to whom this is the essence of faith:--to take

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1 Literature and Dogma. Matthew Arnold. p. 310.
2 ibid. p. 274.
3 ibid. p. 309.
4 Robert Elsmere. Mrs. Humphrey Ward. p. 384.
5 Literature and Dogma. Matthew Arnold. Preface p.xxii.
6 ibid. Preface p. vii.
7 ibid. 382.
8 ibid. p. 313.

on trust what perplexes the reason."[1] For hear him arguing with Elsmere;--"I found only one way out of doubt, and you will find only one way. Trample on yourself. What are we miserable worms that we should defy the Most High, that we should set our wretched faculties against His Omnipotence? Submit--submit--humble yourself, my brother! Fling away the freedom which is your ruin. There is no freedom for man.....In the Lord's name, I bid you fly; I bid you yield in time."[2] Langham is the type of sceptic which Arnold pities, the man who through thought has lost his belief in the Bible, and has not found yet the parts that are true. While Grey is of the type of investigators whom Arnold honors. His reluctance to plant the seeds of doubt in Elsmere's mind find their equivalent in Arnold's words "Theology may be false, and yet one may do more harm in attacking it than by keeping silence and waiting."[3] His establishing of a faith in the Eternal, after rejecting the supernatural manifestaions of religion, we recognize at once as approved by Arnold. Only in his rejecting of miracles a priori instead of historically and experimentally, is he at variance with Arnold's man of ideal religious attitudes. But if Grey fails of perfection here, Elsmere the hero, does not. A man of keen intellect and deep religious nature, he is nurtured on the dogmatism and theology of popular religion. But when his intellect is awakened to the weakness and fallibility of his old beliefs, he is not satisfied until he has gone to the bottom of the problems, and found the true attitudes toward them. And he

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[1] Literature and Dogma, by Matthew Arnold. p. 332.

[2] Robert Elsmere, by Mrs. H. Ward. p. 328.

[3] Literature and Dogma, by Matthew Arnold. Preface, p. vi

does not stop here, at simple negation, he goes on, and builds up a new faith on what was true in the old. This process is recognizable as the one Arnold would have every man follow; and the one which he himself does follow in Literature and Dogma. Merely running through the chapter headings will show us this:--I.Religion given; II. Aberglauble Invading, that is the dogma etc. attaching itself to Old Testament truth; III. Religion New-Given, that is the New Testament truth; IV. The Proof from Prophecy; V. The Proof from Miracles, VI. The New Testament Records; VII. The Testimony of Jesus to Himself; VIII. The Early Witnesses, these last five examining the real problems to find the true value and attitude; IX.Aber-glaube Re-Invading, more dogma; X. Our Masses and the Bible, a view of attitudes; and XI. and XII. The True Greatness of the Old Testament and The True Greatness of Christianity, are founding on the old remnant a something which will stand the tests. To be sure there is not a "Rose" in Literature and Dogma; but as has before been stated, the "Rose plot" is of small importance as far as the criticism or the religious theories of the book are concerned, but all the other characters of importance do have their counterpart, as we have seen.

The general attitudes of the book coincide with Matthew Arnold's as the characters illustrate types of his. Take, for example, the attitude toward the theologians or Christian apologists of the day. When Elsmere visits Grey to tell him of his new views and theories, Grey asks him,"'I imagine you didn't get much help out of your orthodox apologists?' "Robert shrugged his shoulders" "' It often seemed to me,' he said drearily, 'I might have got through but for the men whose books I used to read and respect most in old days.

The point of view is generally so extraordinarily limited. Westcott, for instance, who means so much now-adays to the English religious world, first isolates Christianity from all the other religious phenomena of the world and then argues upon its details. You might as well isolate English jurisprudence, and discuss its details without any reference to Teutonic custom or roman law! You treat Christian witness and Biblical literature, as you would treat no other witness, and no other literature in the world. And you cannot show cause enough. For your reasons depend on the very witness under dispute. And so you go on arguing in a circle, ad infinitum.'"[1] To one who has read Literature and Dogma, this attitude of Elsmere seems to have been taken out of the book almost word for word. For such statements as these are common,--"A system of theological notions about personality, essence, existence, consubstantiality is artificial religion, and is the proper opposite to revealed; since it is a religion which comes forth in no ones consciousness, but is invented by theologians--able men with uncommon talents of abstruse reasoning;"[2] and "We have said--and it cannot be repeated too often--that what is called orthodox theology is, in fact, an immense misunderstanding of the Bible, due to the junction of a talent for abstruse reasoning with much literary inexperience."[3]

Again take Mrs. Ward's general attitude toward Christianity," "The origins of Christian mythology;" "All religions are true and all are false. In them all more or less visibly, man grasps at

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[1] Robert Elsmere, by Mrs. H. Ward, p. 354.
[2] Literature and Dogma, by Matthew Arnold. p. 50.
[3] ibid. p. 181.

the one thing needful--self forsaken, God laid hold of. The spirit in them all is the same, answers eternally to reality; it is but the letter, the fashion, the imagery, that are relative and changing,"[1]--they are the ones which Elsmere remembers as falling from the lips of Grey, while he was at Oxford. They have the true ring of Literature and Dogma when its author expresses such thoughts as these: "That men should, by the help of their imaginations, take short cuts to what they ardently desire, whether the triumph of Israel or the triumph of Christianity, should tell themselves fairy-tales about it, should make these fairy-tales the basis for what is far more sure and solid than the fairy-tales, the desire itself--all this has, in it, nothing which is not natural, nothing blameable,"[2] or another which Arnold gives when he is finishing his chapter on, The Proof from Miracles;"--One hardly knows which of the two to call the most evident here, the perfect simplicity and good faith of the narrators, or the plainness with which they themselves really say to us: Behold a legend growing under your eyes[3]..... It seems to tell us we are in a wonderland;"[4] Or again in the chapter on Our Masses and the Bible, when Arnold gives the legend of the "three Lord Shaftesburys" as analogous to that of the theologian's "God head."[5] Surely Mrs. Ward is in accord with Literature and Dogma in these instances.

Their attitudes toward Unitarianism coincide too. For Elsmere is very careful to tell the men among whom he works in London that he "is not a Unitarian" and one quotation from Arnold will

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1 Robert Elsmere, by Mrs. H. Ward. p. 367.
2 Literature and Dogma, by Matthew Arnold. p. 107.
3 ibid.
4 ibid. p. 146.
5 ibid. pp. 312-321.

show his attitude toward them:--"The Unitarians are, perhaps, the great people for this sort of partial and local rationalization of religion; for taking what here and there on the surface seems to conflict most with common sense, arguing that it cannot be in the Bible and getting rid of it, and professing to have thus relieved religion of its difficulties. And now, when there is much loosening of authority and tradition, much impatience of what conflicts with common sense, the Unitarians are beginning confidently to give themselves out as the Church of the Future."[1]

And St. Paul is held to be the same kind of an authority by each author. Grey's sermon which Elsmere heard at Oxford is described in part as follows: "Much of the sermon indeed was beyond him. It was on the meaning of St. Paul's great conception, "Death unto sin and a new birth unto righteousness." What did the apostle mean--a death to sin and self?.....Were they not even in the mind of St. Paul, two aspects of a spiritual process perpetually re-enacted in the soul of man, and constituting the veritable revelations of God?"[2] And again Elsmere receives a letter from the Squire which Mrs. Ward tells us "contained a short but masterly analysis of the mental habits and idiosyncracies of St. Paul, a propos of St. Paul's witness to the Resurrection."[3] Then read Arnold's St. Paul and Protestantism which is the same idea developed and applied, or look at such passages in Literature and Dogma as; "And the evidence of joy which testifies to the salvation there is in Jesus and in his secret, and the sense of "not ourselves" which fills this joy with awe and

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1. Literature and Dogma, by Matthew Arnold. pp. 315,316.
2. Robert Elsmere, by Mrs. Ward. p. 58.
3. ibid. p. 380.

gratitude, and makes it religious to the core, who has rendered them like Paul?.....And there is beside the Aberglaube, or extra-belief, of the bodily resurrection, of Christ's second advent during the life time of men then living; there is the Calvinistical God 'willing to show his wrath and to make his power known by vessels of wrath fitted to destruction; there is the Rabbinical logic and the unsound use of prophecy and of the old Testament. For popular theology the writings of Paul are a fatal rock,"[1] and it becomes evident that Mrs. Ward's attitude toward St. Paul is indeed that of Matthew Arnold.

And not only are Mrs. Ward's characters personages whose counterparts may be found in Literature and Dogma;not only are her general attitudes similar to those of Matthew Arnold, but also the main theories of the book are those which Arnold sets forth in Literature and Dogma. Her theory concerning miracles, her theory concerning testimony, and her theory concerning the divinity of Christ are the main ones, so we will take these as specimens. Perhaps the first two of these can be examined together since they are so closely allied--the one depending on the other. The Squire says to Elsmere in their most important talk on Christianity, "In the first place I find present in the age which saw the birth of Christianity, as in so many other ages, a universal preconception in favor of miracles--that is to say, of deviations from the common norm of experience, governing the work of all men of all schools. Very well, allow for it then. Read the testimony of the period in the light of it. Be prepared for the inevitable differences between it and the

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[1] Literature and Dogma, by Matthew Arnold. p. 262-263.

testimony of your own day. The witness of the time is not true. Nor, in the strict sense false, but all through perfectly natural. The wonder would have been to have had a Life of Christ without miracles. The air teems with them. The East is full of Messiahs. Even a Tacitus is superstitious. Even a Vespasian works miracles. Even a Nero cannot die, but fifty years after his death is still looked for as the inaugurator of a millennium of horror. The Resurrection is partly invented, partly imagined, partly ideally true--in any case wholly intelligible and natural, as a product of the age, when once you have the key of that age."[1] These are easily recognizable as similar to Arnold's theories on the same subjects. Arnold's long chapter on The Proof from Miracles develops these ideas fully. A few quotations from it will show how thoroughly Mrs. Ward has agreed with him: "It is almost impossible to exaggerate the proneness of the human mind to take miracles as evidence, and to seek for miracles as evidence.....The human mind as its experience widens, is turning away from them. And for this reason: it sees, as its experience widens, how they arise. It sees that under certain circumstances they always do arise; and that they have not more solidity in one case than another.....Signs and wonders mens minds will have, and they create them honestly and naturally; yet not so but that we can see how they create them."[2] Again in speaking of value of the witnesses of New Testament and of Old, Arnold says, "But they are all full of the influences of their time and conditions, partakers of some of its simple or learned ignorance, ---inevitably, in fine, expecting miracles and demanding them".[3] And

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1 Robert Elsmere. pp. 317-318.
2 Literature and Dogma. p. 128-129.
3 ibid. p.136.

once more on testimony, "The more we convince ourselves of the liability of the New Testament writers to mistake, the more we really bring out the greatness and worth of the New Testament."[1] In fact Mrs. Ward has taken the central thought out of three chapters in this one paragraph from Proof from Miracles, The New Testament Record, and The Early Witnesses. Take again from this last chapter mentioned. "That it is impossible the disciples of Jesus should have been, alone of all the disciples in the world, infallible, that it is begging the question to say they were infallible, need not be made out. It is conspicuous, on the face of their own showing of themselves, that they were not infallible."[2] It is evident from these examples that if Mrs. Ward did not take these statements of her uncle, at least she must have been possessed of exactly the same conceptions.

And then turning to the "divinity of Christ." First let us hear what Mrs. Ward says on the subject. We have already quoted, in the chapter on the story of Robert Elsmere, the passage where Elsmere has his vision of the "human Christ," where the Master speaks to him "I was weak; I suffered: I died. But God was in me, and the courage, the patience, the love He gave to me, the scenes of the poor human life He inspired, have become by His will, the world's eternal lesson--man's primer of Divine things hung high in the eyes of all, simple and wise, that all may see and all may learn. Take it to your heart again--that life, that pain, of mine! Use it to new ends; apprehend it in new ways; but knowledge shall not take it from you;"[3]

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1 Literature and Dogma. p. 128-129.
2 ibid. p.252.
3 Robert Elsmere. p. 359.

But how like Arnold's conception of Christ in his chapter on "Testimony of Jesus,[1] or the chapter on Religion New-Given.[2] In them He is but a Christ who has the method and the secret of life, given him by the "eternal that makes for righteousness," and who has interpreted them to man as no one else has done, and by his living out the principles which he expounded has become the "world's eternal lesson."

And so we might go on making comparisons on other aspects of the religious problem. But in no case do we find Mrs. Ward fundamentally at variance with Literature and Dogma. As a final example take the New Religion which Elsmere build up on the old faith. He tells the working men to whom he is giving this new religion of his that "two sayings of Man's past, into which man's present has breathed new meanings "must be fundamental if faith is to mean aught to them:--

> "In Thee, O, Eternal, have I put my trust:
>
> and--
>
> "This do in remembrance of me."[3]

And when we look for the interpretation of the first of these, we find Elsmere saying, "The man who is addressing you tonight believes in God; and in Conscience, which is God's witness in the soul, and in Experience, which is at once the record and the instrument of man's education at God's hands.....He believes in an eternal goodness,--and an eternal mind--of which nature and man are the continuous and the only revelation."[4] But lest we misinterpret what he

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[1] Literature and Dogma. pp. 181-249.
[2] ibid. pp. 79-106.
[3] Robert Elsmere. p. 499.
[4] ibid. 494.

means by God, let us see what he says of him." I often lie here, Flaxman," Elsmere says to his friend, "Wondering at the way in which men become slaves to some metaphysical word--personality or intelligence or what not! What meaning can they have as applied to God? We no sooner attempt to define what we mean by a Personal God than we lose ourselves in labyrinths of language and logic. But why attempt it at all? I like that French saying "Quand on me demande ce que c'est que Dieu, je l'ignore; quand on ne me le demande pas, je le sais tres bien!" No, we cannot realise Him in words--we can only live in Him and die to Him. "[1] This evidently is the God which Arnold calls the "Eternal," which "makes for righteousness." He advocated as does Elsmere an evidence of God rather than a definition, "'No man hath ever yet seen God, if we love one another God dwelleth in us.' Therefore we must not attempt to define God adequately, or in a way that goes beyond our experience,--to say like our theologians: God is a person--but we define God approximately, according to our actual experience of him."[2] Again Arnold makes him a verifiable God: "God was to Israel neither an assumption nor a metaphysical idea; he was a power that can be verified as much as the power of fire to burn or of bread to nourish; the power, not ourselves, that makes for righteousness,"[3] and again: "How are we to verify that there rules an enduring Power, not ourselves which makes for righteousness?.....Why as you verify that fire burns,....by experience.[3] It is so; try it!"[4] And Arnold does make this principle of

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1 Robert Elsmere. p. 603.
2 Literature and Dogma. p. 267.
3 ibid. 321.
4 ibid. 325.

trust in the Eternal a fundamental one: "The Eternal is my strength, my heart hath trusted in him and I am helped."[1]

And when we look for the interpretation of the second fundamental: "This do in remembrance of me," we find explanation in such passages as these: "The life of Jesus is wrought ineffaceably into the higher civilization, the nobles social conceptions of Europe. It is wrought into your being and into mine. We are what we are tonight largely because a Galilean peasant was born and grew to manhood, and preached, and loved, and died. And you think that a fact so tremendous can be just scoffed away--that we can get rid of it, and of our share in it? No.....To reconceive the Christ! That is the special task of our age."[2].....The world has grown since Jesus preached in Galilee and Judea. We cannot learn the whole of God's lesson from him now--nay we could not then! But all that is most essential to man--all that serves the soul, all that purifies the heart, that he has still for you and me, as he had it for the men and women of his own time."[3] How very like Arnold this conception of the importance of Christ is! In chapters on Religion New Given, and the Testimony of Jesus, and Greatness of Christianity, there are many ideas which bear directly on this very attitude of Mrs. Ward. Arnold says "Christendom with perfect justice has made him the Messiah because he alone took...the one only possible and successful way, for the accomplishment of the Messiah's function:----to bring in everlasting righteousness."[4] And Arnold

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1. Robert Elsmere. p. 496.
2. ibid. 498.
3. Literature and Dogma. p. 80.
4. ibid. 102.

makes it a fundamental: "However false his science and Biblical criticism, the believer who applies the method and secret of Jesus has a width of range and sureness of foothold in life, which even the best scientific and literary critic who applies them not is without."[1] And Arnold joins these two: "In thee Oh Eternal have I put my trust: and, "This do in remembrance of me," for example: "Promises were made to righteousness, with all which the idea of righteousness involves. And it involves Christianity;"[2] and again "Now, just as the best recommendations of the oracle committed to Israel, Righteousness is salvation, is found in our more and more discovering in our own history and in the whole history of the world, that it is so, so we shall find it to be with the method and secret of Jesus. That this is the righteousness which is salvation, that the method and secret of Jesus, are righteousness, bring about the Kingdom of God or the reign of righteousness--is best impressed. .....by experienceing and showing again and again in ourselves and in the course of the world that this is so."[3]

It seems to me perfectly fair in the light of these comparisons we have drawn and, in the light of many others which are as plain, but which we have not drawn, to conclude, that Mrs. Ward must have had for the source of her religicus theories and conceptions, and characters and New Religion Arnold's Literature and Dogma; or at least she must have had such a close touch with the book and its author, that her attitude became his in these various reli-

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1 Literature and Dogma. p. 236.
2 ibid. p. 368.
3 ibid. p. 375.

gious matters. It is an interesting matter to me, to find that Mrs. Humphrey Ward's Robert Elsmere, which created such excitement among critics, theologians, and reviewers, really had as its problem, the very problem which Mrs. Ward's Uncle, Matthew Arnold had written about fifteen years before--the problem of Literature and Dogma; and to find that Literature and Dogma too had created its excitement, though only among men of high literary ability; and that when Robert Elsmere did appear with its evating of fiction, its popularity increased far over Literature and Dogma; and kept many reviewers busy for some months.

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* The Bibliography given at the end of Chapter III. was also used for Chapters I., II., and IV.

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